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#### A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

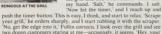
"I've been in training for an eating assignment all my life," says Midwest Correspondent Edwin Reingold, who has eaten hamburgers in all their guises and disguises in Latin America, Kenya, the Congo (now Zaïre). France and Japan. But a cooking assignment, as he discovered while reporting this week's cover story on the McDonald's hamburger empire, is another matter. While Reporter-Researcher Sue Raffety lined up professional gourmets to sample McDonald's cuisine, and Contributing Editor Donald Morrison began to serve up the story on his typewriter, Reingold set out to probe the inner workings of the empire by working behind the counter at a McDonald's in Illinois. His report:

"The sun rises like a giant cheeseburger over Naperville's golden arches as the early crew slogs on with its 5 a.m. ritual of scrubbing, vacuuming and window washing. At 7 a.m. customers start

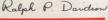
wandering in and by 11 a.m. all 20 cooks and countergirls are busy turning out burgers, fries, shakes, fish sandwiches and apple pies for the fast-thickening lunchtime crowd "Putting on my apron and my jaunty

red paper cap that falsely identifies me as the manager, I watch in admiration as 16-year-old Grillman Dick Caspermeyer fries his Quarter-Pounders. He lays them on the grill, flips, swivels, scrapes and dispenses them with the speed and grace of a natural athlete. Little do I realize that I will soon fail miserably at imitating him.

"At 12:30 p.m., just as the lunch crowd begins to subside, Manager Ralph Follin slaps a stack of quarter-pound beef patties into my hand and leads me to a sizzling, lightly greased grill. 'You're on,' he says. I flop them crudely, unevenly on the grill and find a salt shaker thrust into my hand, 'Salt,' he commands. I salt.



light is out!' Follin shouts. "I lunge for the spatula and flip the burgers over, splashing grease all over my apron. 'When you lift them, don't be afraid to get your fingers on them-they aren't hot,' he lies. I turn to face a bewildering array of buns, cheese slices, onion pieces, ketchup, mustard and unidentified sauces. Dick Caspermeyer comes over and shows me how to apply them. I scrape down my grill again, better this time. Soon it is 1 p.m. and there are no new orders for Quarter-Pounders. I place my spatula and scraper aside, hang up my hat and apron. 'Not bad,' Follin says—'for a reporter.'



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### TIME

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ART DEPARTMENT: Arturo Cazenevve, David Merrill (Assistant Art Directors), Rosemary L. Frank (Covers), Layout Staff: Burjar Norgolwoig, Anthony J. Libbardi, Leonard Schulman, Alan Wosthburn, Michael C. Witte, Maps and Charts: Jere Donovan, Joseph Arnon. Map Researchers; Isobel Lenkiewicz, Nicol W. H.

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# I love to sing. And I love to drink Scotch. Most people would rather hear me drink Scotch.

BY GEORGE BURNS



WHEN THEY ASKED ME to write this mention Teacher's Scotch, but not to drag it in, make it sound natural. Well, I just mentioned it, and that sounded natural. It sounded so natural I'll mention it again—Teacher's Scotch,

I'm a great writer. If I had a beard, I'd be another Hemingway.

They told me they wanted a fresh approach. Well, to write fresh you have to think fresh, and to think fresh you have to be fresh. I haven't been fresh January 20th will be 31 years. I'm not going to tell you my age, but Freached that point in life wher I even cold if I smoke a cigar without a holder on it.

But don't worry. I'll never give up singing. In fact, I started singing the day I was born. I remember the doctor kept slapping me, but I wouldn't stop until I finished two choruses of "Wait I'll The Sun Shines, Nellie". And when I started the verse to "Honeysuckle Rose", he put me in the incubator and turned off the heat. It's a good thing I

I never did like that doctor. He wouldn't put Teacher's Scotch in my bottle.—See how naturally I mentioned

that without dragging it in. I'm a great writer even without a beard.

But I've found out that a little drink now and then helps my singing. It loosens my vocal chords. Sometimes my vocal chords get so loose that whenever I hit a low note I step on them. And when I step on them, I hit a high note. I lead a very nervous life. In the morning I get up a baritone, and when I go to bed I'm a soprano.

As you're reading this some of it may be funny, and then again some of it won't. So just read the funny stuff and skip the rest of it. But if the rest of it turns out to be the funny stuff, and the funny stuff turns out to be the rest of it, if I were you, I'd skip the funny stuff, too.

That last paragraph has so much rhythm you could almost dance to it. Well, I'll have another little sip of Teacher's Scotch, then back to the old typewriter.—How about that?—another natural mention. If I keep writing like this, I'll win the Pulitzer Prize.

Now that I've started writing, it makes me mad after all these years to discover that something I've never done is what I do best. There may be hundreds of things I've never done that I'm great at. Tomorrow I'll take a crack at painting. I'll get a brush and some paint, and lie on my back and paint my bathroom ceiling. I may even make my own paint.

And if that works out, I'll paint the Mona Lisa. But in my version she'll have a reason to smile, because I'll have her holding a glass of Teacher's Scotch in her hand.—Another natural mention—and in oil, yet.

I find that writing is just like singing. But it's kind of hard to end an article with a yodeling finish. But you've got to have an ending, so here goes; I'm going to make this ending so subtle that you won'teven notice I'm being natural.

Two men were standing at a bar. One was drinking Teacher's Sootch with his left hand, and the other was drinking Teacher's Scotch with his right hand. So I said to the one who was drinking Teacher's with his left hand, "Why do you drink Teacher's with your left hand?" He said, "I always drink Teacher's with my left hand."

Then I said to the fellow who was drinking Teacher's with his right hand, "Why do you drink Teacher's with your right hand?" He said, "Because if I didn't drink Teacher's with my right hand, you'd keep mistaking me for that fellow who drinks Teacher's with his left hand."

Well, that's the article, and I'm glad I wrote it. It's opened a whole new career for me. It turns out I write as good as I sing.



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LETTERS

#### The President's Press Conference

Sir / After having witnessed the President's performance at the Aug. 22 press conference [Sept. 3]. I am more assured than ever of his innocence. Such courage could not have been born out of guilt.

GARYA. RITCHE

GARY A. RITCH Buffalo

Sir / It is not a question of the people not trusting Nixon, as he seems to think. It is Nixon not trusting the people to know the truth and judge him compassionately.

I wait and judge him compassionately. I waitched our shaky, frightened President at his Aug. 22 press interview. This man is destroying himself trying to defend an untenable position. Lincoln would have known it was not necessary. The truth shall make them free.

MRS. ROBERT A. DOYLE Lombard, Ill.

Sir / After the interminable drone of the Watergate hearings, the picture that lingers in the mind is of a beleaguered President aghering the dignity of his presidential robes about him and responding with an alrobes about him and responding with an allowed the control of the

New York City

Sir / Anyone finding surcease of sorrow within the context of Mr. Nixon's news conference is one who, in my opinion, desires only to feel better and be calmed, preferring to ignore Nixon's clever political semanticisms by which he avoids any clear answers to questions addressed to him.

DDIGITAS KLENER

Tacoma, Wash.

Sir / If Nixon were seen walking on water, hand in hand with Jesus Christ, the press of this country (TIME included) would say that he was trying to drown the Lord.

JOHN C. ROWDEN Fresno, Calif.

Sir / What makes Richard Nicon such a fascinating figure is the beelfike ability to avoid the swatter and still deliver the sting. Virually against the full weight of public opintually against the full weight of public opinnents and preserved the appearance of bean deliverse of the preserved of the preserved of the delevative, but the is a flawed and faultof figure today because he does not undertake the preserved of the preserved of the preceding decade unbred in a new and public accountability in which previous standards of political conduct are No. Richard Nixon of Watergate in no No. Richard Nixon of Watergate in no

No. Richard Nixon of Watergate is no a corrupt man. He is simply obsolete.

New York City

#### In Defense of Hunt

Sir / What is so farfetched about E. Howard Hun's explanation [Aug. 27] of the Watergate break-in [that if was made to discover whether Castro funds were going to the Democrats]? It is the first explanation of the mess that has made any sease. It has been perfectly obvious all along that Hunt and the others believed sincerely that something on this order was a threat to the nation. The fact that they may not have found

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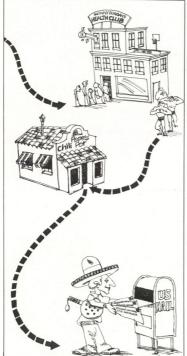
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title report.

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the prior insurer. It makes virtually

no difference.
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anybody.

It's taken some time—and one whale of an effort—to change the title insurance habit in Chicago.

But it's working. Because of another basic human habit: trying something new and different that's really good.



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#### LETTERS

any evidence does not make the story farfetched. It could have been true. It still could be. (MRS.) ELIZABETH NALLS

(MRS.) ELIZABETH NALI Demorest, Ga.

Sir / Imagine being dedicated to your country and being hired by high officials of that country for a mission involving national security, and as a result ending up in that country's jails for 33 years. It is a true Kafka nightmare, which will give many thinking Americans sleepless nights until E. Howard Hunt and his fellow "conspirators" have their unjust sentences.

DON WOLFE

#### Kennedy Mystique

Sir / Please do not ennoble young Joe Kennedy's delinquent acts by bestowing on them the mystique of "the Kennedy jinx" [Aug. 27]. He seems to be spoiled and undirected, and his exploits have nothing whatsoever to do with the tragic assassinations of his father and uncle.

In fact, Joe Kennedy is the common garden-variety American kid who thought-lessly breaks his parents' hearts, and he should not be dignified by wrapping him in a mantle of tragedy.

Chicago

#### More Work, Less Schooling?

Sir / It took me one year of teaching in a public high school to come to the same conclusions as James Coleman and his staff [Aug. 27]. The young need and even want more experience with life through work and apprenticeships.

Our schools would not be plagued with widespread drug abuse and violence if the incompetent and/or unmotivated were learning a skill through a job.

Houston

Sir / Sociologist James Coleman wants our kids out of school and on the job without apparently realizing that in an increasingly automated society with job openings only for the professionally trained and skilled, there is a predictably small place for those armed with only the winning smiles of youth.

STEPHEN M. BLACIK Chicago

Sir / Although it is true that today's educational system places too much emphasis on a longer and longer academic career, my experience finds no basis for Dr. Coleman's conclusions that school's focus is "too narrow" and does not provide such adult necessities as the ability to manage one's own affairs or to engage in "intense, concentrated involvement in an activity."

I have found many activities, particularly at the high school level, in which students are actively involved, not only in participation but in the planning of them as

The solution is not to "limit schooling," but to expand schooling to provide opportunities to every student. ROGER PATTERSON Roseville, Minn

#### **Goldwater Clarification**

Sir / You quote William Sullivan, former No. 3 man at the FBI, as stating that L.B.J. "advised the FBI that Goldwater would find



it handled. I want to sit down right at the beginning and find out what my alternatives are.

"I want to know the probabilities of success. I want to learn what kind of risk is involved.

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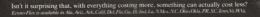
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Warren M. Pace

President



# Try the dry.

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Say"Bor-zoy"dry.

#### LETTERS

it difficult to deny he knew Jenkins well personally" [Aug. 27]. My point is this: since Mr. Jenkins was

with young is the service with Jenkins was in the news by reason of having been arrested on a morals charge, any suggestion in your magazine that I would find it different to the late of the late of

I never knew Jenkins socially and never saw him outside of Reserve meetings, but this is a very, very important fact that could not be ascertained by any reader of your magazine.

BARRY GOLDWATER U.S. Senator, Ariz. Washington, D.C.

#### Two Votes for Superstan

Sir / I thought Jesus Christ, Superstar was beautiful. What's all the fuss [Aug. 27]? Jesus looked Irish, Judas looked black, Mary Magdalen could have been Indian, Peter a WASP, and that sterling (Roman) character Herod possibly Jewish. There had to be a few Jewish people in the story. At least the high priests were fine looking lads!

As the movie pointed out so clearly, we all had a hand in it, didn't we?

BETTY MENACHER

Green Bay, Wis.

Sir / When it gets to the point that there are only a handful of movies to watch in a certain area and Jesus Christ, Superstar is one of them. I would gladly go see this rather than sit through an unnecessarily dirty skin

As entertainment, Jesus Christ, Superstar contains enough joyously beautiful rock music to captivate any teen-ager, let

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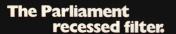
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Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

#### LETTERS

alone any person interested in music; enough religious inspiration to last a lifetime; and enough pure entertainment to keep this film around forever.

Long live Jesus Christ, Superstar!

May it go down in film history as the best!

DEBORAH ANN STEINHAUSER

Homer, N.Y.

#### Tass Was Correct

Sir / On July 26. Tass, the official Soviet mews agency, reported, in response to a question by me, that the wife of the Soviet writer Andrei Amarlis had been allowed to attend his trial in Siberia. Other sources in Moscow said that she had not been allowed to see her husband there. Since Tass reports on cases of political prisoners in the past on cases of political prisoners in the past the unfolicial version and so reported in Time [Aug. 6].

If now turns out that Tass was correct in this instance and that Mrs. Amalrik was allowed to see her husband before he was sent back to prison camp. This error could have been avoided if Mrs. Amalrik and her lawyer had been permitted to speak to the Western press.

JOHN SHAW
TIME Correspondent

Moscow

#### The Problem of Women Pros

Sir / Your article entitled "Chris Evert-Miss Cool on the Court" (Aug. 27] leads me to believe there is no hope at all for our up-and-coming women pros, tennis or otherwise. For if Miss Evert is so glibly willing to sacrifice all of her considerable talent and hard work to the care and feeding of a family so that she can "be known for being agir!," then what is the use of her playing at all?

I am very confident that Ms. Billie Jean King, a veteran of pro circuits, would not agree that "too long a tennis career can ruin a girl and harden her."

DENISE C. HEBERT Bethesda, Md.

#### The Credible Picket

Sir / Now Dorothy Day, whose very name is symbolic of radical Catholicism, has gone to jail for picketing for the United Farm Workers union [Aug. 20]. Because of these acts. I take the grape and lettuce boycott

She has earned her credibility.

West Springfield, Mass.

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

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#### THE NATION

#### AMERICAN NOTES

#### **Revisionist History**

Settlers in Santa Fe were in a festive mood when they chose the city plaza as the site for a 3-3-ft, obelisk dedcated to "the herces who have fallen in the various battles with savage Indians in the Territory of New Mexico." A plaque bearing that inscription went onto the monumen's cornerstone in 1868, and there is no record that anyone found it objectionable.

Times change, however, and leaders of the American Indian Movement now condemn use of the word savage as "racism and prejudice." They want the obelisk destroyed. Governor Bruce King agreed with their sentiments but not with their draconian solution, so he suggested substituting fierce for savage.

EThat's playing with history." obsected State Cultural Properties Review Committee Chairman Albert Schroeder. "It's the most ridiculous thing I've ever heard," said State Historian Myra Ellen Jenkins. As the controversy wore on, one Santa Fe wag suggested placing a fig leaf over the word savage. Someone else proposed a second obelisk dedicated to "the gallant Indians

Someone else proposed a second obelisk dedicated to "the gallant Indians who died fighting for their homeland." The Santa Fe city council turned the problem over to the state. Its solution: an explanatory plaque, to be placed

alongside the offending monument, that will read in part: "Monument texts are





wont to reflect the character of the time in which they are written and the temper of those who wrote them. Hopefully, attitudes change and prejudices dissolve."

#### Potluck

No one paid much attention to the to-causally dressed young men who to causally dressed young men who caine-wille [Fa], last week They united at a young volunteer manning a telephone for the lery! Lewis mucular dystrophy telethon, laid a brown paper bag in front of her, and said pleasantly, "Here, this is for you." Then they left. Local Muscular Dystrophy Chairman Ron Baudree opened the bag and Jound en bundles of mostly \$20 and \$100 MD. Collected by the Gainneville Marting and the part of the

A stunned Bauldree summoned police, who determined that the money had not been stolen. So it was sent to the headquarters of the muscular dystrophy campaign. As to the identity of the donors, Sun Bank Vice President Jim Johnson declared: "It could be local marijuana dealers who just wanted to do something nice. From what I hear, giving \$10,000 certainly wouldn't hurt them financially." There is, of course, no official Gainesville Marijuana Dealers Association-at least not yet. But as pot smoking becomes increasingly accepted (TIME, Sept. 10), a new breed of long-haired millionaire philanthropists may be appearing on the horizon. What next? A pot dealers' hospital wing? Operas commissioned for the counterculture? University fellowships in psychedelic studies?

#### **Beware the Russian Trader**

During the days of the cold war, it was widely believed that the wily Russians would, unless watched with the greatest suspicion, outwit the simplehearted Americans at every turn. The myth has turned out to be true-in a most embarrassing way. Last year the Soviet Union, needing grain because of serious crop failures, sent a delegation to hole up in a New York hotel to buy wheat-440 million bushels of it. The U.S., long plagued by grain surpluses, obligingly held the export price of wheat at \$1.63 per bu. by subsidizing farmers and grain dealers to the tune of nearly \$300 million. It even provided the U.S.S.R. with \$750 million in credit to make the deal possible. Thus the Soviets made off with one-fourth of



the total U.S. wheat crop for a cool \$1 billion-causing shortages and price rises that are still unchecked. Asked last week about reports that a loaf of bread from American wheat costs less in Moscow than in Washington, D.C., Treasury Secretary George P. Shultz admitted that the U.S. had been "burned" and added: "If we are burned the first time, why, maybe they did it. But if we get burned twice, that is our fault, and we shouldn't have that happen." Senator Walter Huddleston of Kentucky announced even worse treacheries. Now that wheat has reached record heights. he said, there were reports (denied by the Agriculture Department) that the Russians were reselling their \$1.63 American wheat to others at the current price of \$4.65. So much for the heirs of the Yankee peddler.

#### More Bitter Than a Serpent's Sting

Fred P. Shields, 73, spotted a nest of copperheads one day last week in the 80-ft, well on his farm in Cheshire, Ohio, so he enlisted his 42-year-old son Fred D. and his 18-year-old grandson James to help kill them.

They attached a hose to the exhaust pipe of their pickup truck, stuck the hose into the well and filled it with carbon monoxide. After a while, Shields lowered himself into the well to see if the snakes were really dead. When he failed to come out again, his son went in after him. When the second man failed to come out, they grandson went received the three men, all dead, apparently of carbon-monoxide poisoning, but hey found no sign of any snakes.

TIME, SEPTEMBER 17, 1973



PRESIDENT NIXON TAKING A NEWSMAN'S QUESTION DURING TELEVISED PRESS CONFERENCE IN THE WHITE HOUSE EAST ROOM

#### THE ADMINISTRATION

### The People's Business: Nixon v. Congress

Since Richard Nixon delivered his State of the Union messages last February and March, the state of the union has, to put it mildly, somewhat changed This week, therefore, the President is sending to the newly reconvened Congress a revised version of the charter for his second term. It is an effort to get away from Watergate and turn to what Nixon calls "the people's business," but it is also a recognition that the people's business has gone badly in recent months. Whatever their worry about Watergate, Americans are even more concerned about plagues that are closer to home: runaway inflation, food and power shortages and the general state of economic uncertainty

Four Fronts. At a nationally televised news conference-his second in 14 days-the President tried to blame many of the nation's troubles on the 93rd Congress, whose performance so far he described as "very disappointing." He needs some congressional victories to salvage his power and reputation, and if he fails to achieve them. he clearly means to put the blame on the Democratic-controlled Congress. Challenging the Congress to respond to his "bipartisan" initiatives, he drafted a new message demanding action on four "urgent" fronts: inflation, defense, the energy crisis and domestic-spending programs

The news from the nation's marketplaces loudly confirmed the urgency of the economic problem. The Wholesale Price Index for August ballooned by Price Index for August ballooned by 5.8%, the biggest monthly increase since of John State Price Index for Index f

ally associated with banana republic. Moreover, the retail price of the nation's favorite main dish, beef, seemed headed for a new round of increases, at least for a while. The Cost of Living Council removed price ceilings on beef cuts at week's end and Council Director John T. Dinniop admitted that the result was likely to be a "buige" in prices. However, after feed for owners have been considered to the control of the action, increased supplies may hold down some price increases.

In an attempt to prove that the summer's roaring inflation has not completely taken the spine out of the Presdent's Phase IV, the Cost of Living dent the station's major auto firms to dered the nation's major auto firms to cut back their proposed increases in 1974 models by 10% to 30%. The decision still allows the Big Four automakers to raise their prices by amounts ranging from \$51 to \$74 a car. In addition, the proper and the big firms in the time of the proper and the proper and the time of the proper and the proper and the proper and the time of the proper and the pro price increases until their executives can appear at hearings to justify them. Nixon made it clear, both in his press conference and in his new message, that Congress's primary responsibility in holding down inflation is to live within the budget. Said Nixon: "It

sibility in holding down inflation is to live within the budget. Said Nixon: "It is very disconcerting to note that already before the Congress are spending proposals which, if enacted, would bust the budget to the tune of at least \$6 billion." Yet, in a quick turnabout, he ruled out any substantial saving from a reduction in military spending.

Seven Steps. In his State of the Union II. Nixon also presented proposals to alleviate the energy crisis. He recommended seven steps, including construction of the Alaskan oil pipeline. deregulation of natural-gas prices at the wellhead-a step that would surely force prices sharply upward-and the funding of further research into coal gasification and other new energy sources. Finally, Nixon urged Congress to take action on a whole series of domestic programs, including the betterschools bill and the better-communities bill, two revenue-sharing measures that would transfer from federal to local authorities much of the decision-making authority in federal school and commu-

nity-development programs.

The President's burst of initiative resulted from his growing conviction that the best defense against Watergate is an offense against not only the na-

#### THE NATION

tion's problems but the two bodies that have given him the most trouble: Congress and the press. When he went before newsmen last week, he was not confident and commanding than in any other recent appearance. He still grew noticeably tense and uncomfortable when asked questions about Waterlaste or his personal finances, but it was clear that he has correctly sized up the presconder the advantage (see Time Prass). Among the highling one Time Prass). Among the highling of the Time Prass).

Among men inguing. Nison announced that he would veit a bill passed by Congress setting the minimum wage at \$2.20 an hour. That rate, an increase of 38% over the present \$1.60 minimum. "would give an enormous boost to inflation" and might "deny employment opportunities to urskilled and younger workers' but worth. Nison said that he will ask Conworth, Nison said that he will ask Con-

gress to write a new bill.

On A TAX INCREASE. While he agreed that there should be changes in the tax laws, Nixon said, "there isn't a chance that a responsible tax bill would be passed by this Congress." That appeared to rule out any effort by the Administration to slow down inflation by raising either corporate or personal taxes, a course that many economists have urged.

ON VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW. The President declined to discuss Agnew's legal status but reiterated his carefully hedged support for Agnew "during the period that he has served as Vice President"—an endorsement that sounds more damning every time it is recited.

ON HIS SAN CLEMENTE TAX PAYMENTS. NIXon indicated that he had not paid a capital gains tax on the sale of four-fifths of his San Clemente property to Pals Bebe Rebozo and Robert Abplanalp in 1970, and that his decision not to do so was accepted by the Internal Revenue Service. If he did not pay a tax-and did not, for complicated technical reasons, defer it-the President must have claimed that he realized no profit on the transaction. Yet Nixon managed to keep his house and six acres of choice waterfront land while selling off 80% of his property for 83% of his purchase price. How such a deal could avoid a capital gains tax remained a mystery.

By implying that the nation must deal with Watergate and its other problems on an either-or basis, the President was oversimplifying the choice. Neither will go away. As for the econ-omy, Nixon noted: "It's very easy to turn the crank so tight that you have a hard landing"-meaning that a wild, groping effort to stamp out inflation at any cost could easily trigger a recession. With skillful management, especially in restoring credibility to the Phase IV guidelines, most economists believe that such a possibility can still be averted. Despite his own recent hard landings. Nixon finally seems to realize that a renewed confidence in his own leadership is a vital part of the salvage effort.

#### THE CONGRESS

#### "No Apologies to Be Made"

The members of Congress had scarcely upposed their bags after return bags after attempts upstaced their bags after attempts from summer recess when President Knoo'n Schallegen hit hem. Fresh from talking to their constituents, they were well aware that the American public is impatient to get on with the country's business, but they deeply resented by a "very disappointing" showing, In fact, the record of the 93rd Congress is far a "very disappointing" showing, In fact, the record of the 93rd Congress is far from dismal—floudy unsatisfactory to the new session were sounds of irritation at the President's factics.

Senate Majority Leader Mansfield and House Speaker Carl Albert jointly declared that "Congress does not 'perform' at the behest of this President or any President. The Congress acts in accord with its independent judgment of what is best for the nation and the people. There are no apologies to be made for this Congress. It has done, it is doing, and it will continue to do the people's business." Returning to the Senate seven months after being shot in a holdup, John Stennis of Mississippi defended Congress. He said that he had heard that Senators were "not living up to their responsibilities. I don't believe one word of that."

Six Vetoes. So far this session, Democratic leaders point out, Congress has passed a total of 106 bills, a figure that compares favorably with past congressional performances. By counting up committee reports, roll-call votes. hours in session and bills enacted, the Congressional Quarterly concluded that the legislative record of the 93rd Congress so far is the equal of most (although it has sided with the President on only 43% of the issues on which he has taken a stand, as compared with 66% last year), "There are only seven Senators on the Watergate committee, says Robert Byrd, Democratic Whip in the Senate. "The remaining 528 members of Congress have been busy in other committees, and I think the idea that they have been preoccupied with Watergate should be debunked." Republican Senator Charles Percy agrees: "I can't keep up with my work and watch the hearings. Watergate is the only issue on which my constituents are more informed than I am.

Congress has been so active, in fact, that the President has vetoed six key bills that it passed: restoration of impounded grants for rural water and sewer projects; vocational rehabilitation for the handcapped; a requirement for Senate confirmation of the present and any future director and deputy directors and experiment of the Office of the Office



GERALD FORD & HUGH SCOTT Mapping strategy.

in the minimum wage from \$1.60 an hour to \$2.20. So far. Congress has been unable to muster the forces to override the vetoes, and more vetoes are sure to come. Certain to be rejected by the President, if Congress passes them, are two bills that would circumscribe his power. One would limit his ability to commit military forces to combat without congressional approval; the other would curtail his power to impound funds appropriated by Congress.

The President's congressional troubles are not entirely due to the Democrats. Because of Watergate and the intransigent positions he took on issues early in his second term, there has been a sizable defection of Republicans. In the Senate, G.O.P. opposition to measures sponsored by the White House grew from 20% in 1972 to 34% in 1973. Senator Edward Gurney, the Watergate committee member who is most outspokenly sympathetic to the President, voted with the White House 89% of the time in 1972; this year his support fell to 59%. Democrats, of course, are also backing the White House less. Sam Ervin, who voted with the Administration 70% of the time last year, has slipped to 50%. Even so, he remains the third strongest supporter of the White House among Senate Democrats. This decline in presidential authority is a consequence not just of the Watergate scandal as such but of the failure of the Watergate-preoccupied Administration to press the legislators of both parties on the bills it wants passed.

Realizing that he had raised something of a storm by his attack on the 93rd, Nixon decided to be simulta-



STENNIS & MANSFIELD

neously relaxed and assertive when he met with G.O.P. congressional leaders last week to map out strategy for getting his legislative programs passed. "Glad to see you all," he jauntily began. During the course of the two-hour and ten-minute meeting. Watergate was not mentioned once, nor was Vice President Agnew, who happened to be present. Nixon put forward 37 different proposals, most of them reworkings of earlier bills on foreign trade, housing, energy and crime. Said a congressional leader: "He was very much in control of what he wanted to do, what he wanted to say, what he did say

Anti-Power Mood. Once again, he was urging on Congress his New Federalism, though it goes against the congressional grain. In place of a collection of categorical grant programs, he considered that the control of programs the control of programs in present will give federal funds to states and localities to spend pretty much as they see fit. Congress objects because it would lose control of programs it presently supervises, it also worries that local officials would use the model. Congress has been also wit to a supervise the condended. Congress has been also wit to a supervise the condended. Congress has been also with a supervise of the condended. Congress has been also with a supervise of the condended. Congress has been also with a supervise of the condended congress has been also with a supervise of the condended.

approve it without an amendment. Most members of Congress appear to favor Senator Henry Jackson's proposal to deny most-favored-nation treatment to any country that does not allow free emigration, a measure aimed mainly at easing restrictions on Soviet

The warfare between the President and Congress has not been total, however. Nixon has signed 25 major bills passed by Congress. They include a new farm program that provides payments to farmers when prices fall below a certain level; a highway act that allows cities to finance mass transit from the Highway Trust Fund; an economic stabilization act that continues for another year the President's authority to impose wage and price controls; and a boost in Social Security payments. Despite his tough rhetoric, the President has also shown a willingness to compromise on bills extending public health services, providing for a public works program, expanding airports and increasing veterans' payments.

Last week the Senate, too, drew back from an aggressive position. It rejected measures to reduce the bud-



HOUSE SPEAKER CARL ALBERT & MAJORITY LEADER THOMAS P. O'NEILL Time for children of Congress to give a little and get a little.

on the revenue-sharing programs for education, urban community development and manpower training.

Nixon's foreign trade bill is similarly stalled. It would vastly increase the powers of the President by giving him the right to negotiate trade agreements or raise and lower tariffs or quotas on goods from foreign countries without congressional approval. In the wake of Watergate, Congress is scarcely in a mood to add to presidential power, though it may be willing to compromise on the issue. The President's proposal, moreover, would give him authority to grant most-favored-nation status to Communist nations, including the Soviet Union. Though this is a basic element of the American-Russian détente. Congress is unlikely to get for the President's Domestic Council and to require congressional approval of security improvements for the President's private homes. "Since the time of Socrates, politics has been the art of compromise," House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill observed, "When Haldeman and Ehrlichman were running the White House, the President treated Congress like a stepchild. Mel Laird is over there now. He says of himself: 'I'm a child of Congress.' Now is the time for Laird to come over here and sit down with us." Getting the message, Laird called O'Neill about setting up a meeting. Re-plied O'Neill: "We can give a little, and you can give a little." If enough is given on both sides the business of the people may yet go forward.

#### THE VICE PRESIDENCY

### **Two Conflicting Agnew Scenarios**

Though mists of scandal obscure the future of Vice President Spiro Agnew, hardly anyone seems in any great rush to dispel them. Agnew himself, after his meeting with President Nixon, spent the rest of the Labor Day weekend at the seashore. George Beall, the U.S. Attorney in Baltimore heading an investigation into Agnew's past financial dealings with Maryland engineers and contractors, was on vacation all last week, and a grand jury that might eventually hear evidence against the Vice President was marking time. Aides to Attorney General Elliot Richardson said that he had not yet decided whether there was sufficient evidence to seek an indictment against Agnew, or if there ject to indictment unless first impeached. To take that stand would only protract the proceedings, hurting the President too. But he wanted Nixon to be aware of this course because it might affect the President's own constitutional defense in the Watergate case.

Agnew intends, by this account, to seek a speedy trial and to flight the indictments head-on in court. He will admit accepting some funds from contractors and consultants, Agnew's riferied says, but will claim that this money was not for his personal use but for the promised nobling, and gave nobling, in return for the contributions. If any favoritism was shown to the donors while

an indictinent against Agnew, or if there Voritism was shown to the donors white the same statistics and the same statistics are same statistics.

AGNEW IN GOLF CAR WITH MARYLAND'S CHIEF APPEALS JUDGE ROBERT SWEENEY Did a failure to resign upset a timetable?

is, whether impeachment would have to be sought first. While there was little official activity, however, there was continued speculation about Agnew's fate. Spokesmen for both Nixon and Ag-

Spokesmen for both Nixon and Agnew claim that their meeting on Sept. I was routine, and that the possibility of the Vice President's resignation was not even discussed, but other sources familiar with the case told different stories. Two such sources, both well informed, gave conflicting scenarios of what has been, and is, happening. SCHAMBO & (from a friend and adviser

of Agnew). Arona mend and advantage of Agnew). Agnew had been rold by his lawyers that he will be indicted whe Baltimore grand jury, and he wanted to be the lirst to inform Nixon of this. He did so at the meeting and then laid out his plans for dealing with the danger. He said he would not resign and he would not take refuge behind not constitutional claim that he is not sub-

he was Baltimore County executive or Governor of Maryland, it was done by his subordinates. Thus he will be found innocent of the charges and will be exonerated.

SCENARIO B (from other sources close to the case): Agnew's resignation was discussed with Nixon at their lengthy meeting, but the Vice President presented a persuasive case against his leaving office. This upset the tentative timetable of the prosecution in his case. Justice Department officials had anticipated Agnew's resignation, and were prepared to present evidence against him to the grand jury beginning this week. But Agnew now expects to fight any such move as illegal on constitutional grounds. This could tie up the case for many months. The moment he learns that any criminal evidence against him is going to the grand jury in Baltimore, his lawvers will lodge formal protests, asking the courts to restrain the grand jury Because of Agnew's stand, according to this scenario, the constitutional questions have become more significant. Particularly relevant is a pending appeal by Otto Kerner, a former Illinois Governor and federal judge convicted of bribery and fraud. Kerner is appealing, in part, on grounds that he was illegally tried while not yet impeached as a judge, an issue not raised before the trial. The Justice Department, which will oppose Kerner's appeal, must mesh its constitutional arguments with whatever stand it takes in Agnew's case. As this requires more time, the Baltimore grand jury will consider indictments against other individuals when it reconvenes this week and may not get around to Agnew's case

for several weeks. Prejudging. Under either scenario, Agnew's apparent determination to remain in office would present Nixon with a difficult political problem if the Vice President is indicted. The President, of course, has no authority to remove him since Agnew was elected to office by the people. And, partly because of his difficulties over Watergate, Nixon probably would not find it feasible to press any public demand that Agnew resign. Such an effort would also make it appear that he was short-circuiting the legal system and prejudging Agnew as guilty. Agnew could continue to carry out his constitutional duty of presiding over the Senate, but he rarely does so now and probably would not appear in the chamber under such a cloud. At the same time, impeachment would be improbable once trial had begun, and the situation would end only when a court had rendered its verdict on the criminal charges.

inal charges.

The determined Agnew, meanwhile, continued to show every cutward sign is a sign of the continued to show every cutward sign is so. At a local Republican rally in St. Charles, Ill., he assailed what he termed "the morbid precoupation with Watergate" and claimed that one "institute spyroduct of the affair" is that there is now a "persecutorial atmosphere hanging over the American political system. The implication seemed to be that he considers himself one of the persecuted.

#### Picking a New No. 2

Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both houses of Congress.

—Section 2, Amendment 25 U.S. Constitution

Until that amendment was ratified in 1967, the Constitution provided a line of succession only for the nation's top job. If a Vice President died or resigned in office—or if. like Lyndon Johnson, he achieved the presidency on the death of the incumbent—the nation's No. 2



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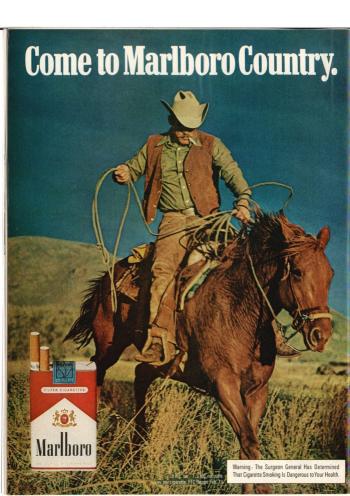
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#### THE NATION

office simply remained vacant for the rest of that four-year term. Now, if Spiro Agnew's legal troubles force his departure, Richard Nixon will be required to find a replacement.

The amendment is remarkably silent on the precise timing and the mechanics of putting a new man behind the Vice President's desk. Since no deadlines are specified. Nixon could presumably take his time about submitting a nomination. On the other hand, Congress could not only demand a nomination but also insist that the nominee submit to questioning before special committees. Would the two houses consider the President's nominee sep-

arately or together? Would they appoint special committees to consider the matter or act as a committee of the whole? The amendment does not say

White House officials insist that no names of candidates are being assembled, but the indications are that the process would be quite different from the usual system for picking a Vice President. In contrast to the traditional "ticket-balancing," in which presidential nominees try to curry favor with voting blocs by selecting a Northern Catholic agriculture expert or a Border-state Baptist with labor-union support, an incumbent President naming

a mid-term successor need concern himself only with the views of 535 voters: the members of the House and Senate.

Possibilities, Since the Democrats control both houses of Congress, Nixon's selection would have to be agreeable to them. And since his Administration has been shaken by scandal, he would have to name a man of respectable background. Beyond that, it is wholly a matter of speculation whether Nixon would prefer a strong nominee who would bolster his Administration but also make him more vulnerable to impeachment, or a stand-in who would be acceptable but lackluster. Despite the official denials that there is any list of candidates, the guessing in Washington does name names. The most commonly cited possibilities:

JOHN CONNALLY, 56. The former Treasurv Secretary is admired by Nixon for his air of self-confidence and political shrewdness. Main drawbacks: Big John is a convert to the G.O.P. and is closely identified with oil interests as well as Texas wheeler-dealers

NELSON ROCKEFELLER, 65. An old G.O.P. rival, he is now a fairly cordial supporter of Nixon's, and as four-term Governor of New York he ranks among the nation's most experienced politicians. Main drawback: despite his age. Rocky reportedly still covets the presidency and might thus start acting on his own as soon as he was confirmed.

MELVIN LAIRD, 51. A former Defense Secretary and Wisconsin Congressman now Nixon's chief domestic adviser, Laird is an able administrator and com-



RICHARDSON, LAIRD, ROCKEFELLER, CONNALLY & BAKER No Northern agriculture experts or Border-state Baptists need apply.

mands impressive respect in Congress.

Main drawback: both at Defense and at the White House, Laird has never hesitated to voice disagreement with Nixon, is thus considered too independent. Nixon doesn't greatly like him SENATOR HOWARD BAKER, 47. The

G.O.P. superstar in the Watergate hearings, Baker is one of the Republicans' new lights and could help Nixon put Watergate behind him. Main drawback: Nixon finds it hard to forgive anyone connected with the Ervin committee ATTORNEY GENERAL ELLIOT RICHARD-

SON, 53. Respected and utterly respectable as an administrator. Richardson could give the post-Watergate administration a believable air of reform. Main drawback: Richardson made the appointment of Special Watergate Prosecutor Archibald Cox, now regarded in the White House as a partisan enemy out to "get" Nixon.

The only trouble with such logical predictions is that Nixon's actual nomnations are often highly unpredictable Spiro Agnew is good evidence of that.

#### INVESTIGATIONS

#### The Indictments Begin

John Ehrlichman, once the chief White House adviser on all domestic affairs, has steadfastly denied knowing in advance of the break-in at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. A county grand jury in Los Angeles last week decided otherwise. It indicted Ehrlichman and three other former White House aides-Egil Krogh, David Young and G. Gordon Liddy-for the plebeian crime of burglary. Ehrlichman was also charged with perjury.

Not Traceable. In a total of eight days of hearings, the grand jury took testimony from 30 witnesses, including four who had participated in the breakin but had been granted immunity: E. Howard Hunt, Bernard Barker, Eugenio Martinez and Felipe de Diego. The jury reportedly monitored the Senate Watergate hearings and then replayed tapes of Ehrlichman's testimony to check for discrepancies. His indictment for burglary was based partly on three White House memorandums, especially a memo from Young and Krogh on Aug. 11, 1971, in which Ehrlichman approved a "covert operation" to procure the psychiatrist's files on Ellsberg. Along with his initial, Ehrlichman had jotted down: "If done under your assurance that it is not traceable.

Ehrlichman contended that he did not have burglary in mind when he gave his O.K.; he was thinking of persuading a doctor or nurse to get the Ellsberg psychiatric files, or of having Liddy's team of White House "plumbers" pose as investigators who were entitled to see the reports. Other testimony apparently also implicated Ehrlichman. Young, who invoked the Fifth Amendment before the Los Angeles grand jury. had reportedly told a federal grand jury in Washington as well as the staff of the Senate Watergate committee that Ehrlichman definitely had advance



JOHN EHRLICHMAN Invisible line.

knowledge of the Ellsberg break-in. Bail was set at a token \$500 for the four former White House aides. As a courtesy, arrest warrants were delayed for a week to give them all time to get to Los Angeles. But they did not need the delay. Krogh surrendered almost immediately, pleaded not guilty and pro-fessed "some real regrets over what has taken place in terms of injuring innocent persons." Then came Young, then Ehrlichman, more tanned and thinner than he used to be. He pleaded not guilty and was taken off for fingerprinting and mug shots. Liddy, who is serving a sentence of up to 20 years for the Watergate break-in, will have to stand trial once again in Los Angeles. If convicted, each man could receive a five-year-tolife sentence for first degree burglary, which is burglary committed at night. Ehrlichman could also be given a oneto-14-year jail term for perjui Grounds for Silence. The indict-

ments were greeted with some dismay by Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox in Washington. There are so many separate investigations of Watergate and related affairs that they are bound to conflict. Cox had reportedly asked the grand jury to put off the indictments for a week so that Ehrlichman could be brought to Washington to testify further on Watergate, the ITT scandal, and probably on the Ellsberg break-in and other plumbers' activities. Now that he has been indicted, Ehrlichman has grounds for keeping silent, at least in regard to the Ellsberg burglary case. His attorneys, in fact, asked the federal district court in Washington to quash the subpoena; testifying for a fourth time, they maintained, would be "unreasonable and oppressive." Cox, on the other hand, argued that Ehrlichman has testified only briefly in his past appearances. He feels that Ehrlichman knows too much to be silenced now.

THE IUDICIARY

### Confused Alarms of Strugale

As the wildly complicated battle for President Nixon's secret Watergate tapes grew even more complex last week, it became apparent that time may be running out for both of the probers who are trying to get them. For one thing, Special Investigator Archibald Cox's grand jury, which has been hearing evidence over the past 15 months, goes home on Dec. 4. It can be kept in session only by a special act of Congress. If it disbands with its work undone, Cox will have to start over again with a new jury. For another, the Senate wants to adjourn in mid-October, and the Ervin committee is trying to finish its hearings by Nov. 1

Both Cox and Ervin Committee Counsel Samuel Dash therefore went to court last week to plead for speed. Only Cox got his wish-partly. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia took the highly unusual step of setting a date for arguments even before being formally notified that any party intended to appeal District Judge John J. Sirica's decision of the previous week. Sirica had ordered the President to submit the tapes to him so that he could determine which parts, if any, should be given to the grand jury. The oral arguments will be heard this week by the full nine-man D.C. court (which the President wanted), and the judges should come to a decision in time for the case to reach the Supreme Court when it reconvenes in early October.

Double Appeal. Both sides appealed Sirica's decision. The White House, represented by six attorneys, asked for a writ of mandamus ordering that the decision be vacated completely. In a relatively brief petition to the appeals court, the White House contended that Sirica's order was "clearly erroneous" because the President is not subject "to compulsory process for acts performed in his official capacity." The White House petition specifically challenged Sirica's authority to enforce a subpoena against the President and his right to review a presidential claim that the public interest would be damaged by disclosing a private conversation. Sirica has ruled that the judiciary, not the President, is the final authority on which conversations are protected by Executive privilege when they constitute evidence in a criminal case.

Cox at first had said that he was very pleased" with the Sirica decision, but the pressure of time is making the decision less pleasing to him. Since Sirica wants to hear the tapes and then decide whether any of the conversations are privileged, his decision on that matter could itself be appealed by either party. That would set off another chase through the higher courts. To prevent this, Cox also filed an appeal from Sirica's decision. He, too, asked a writ of

mandamus-one that would direct Sirica to order the tapes turned over to Cox for the grand jury, and to annul those portions of the decision in which Sirica demanded the tapes for himself. Cox insisted, as he had before, that the claim of Executive privilege was invalid because discussions of crimes cannot be protected. Moreover, he claimed, Nixon has waived privilege by allowing his former aides to give their versions of the conversations. Warning that the grand jury's days are numbered, Cox declared that arguments over Sirica's inspection of the tapes might lead to "unnecessary confusion" and "serious delay in the ad-

While both sides appealed Sirica's decision on Cox's suit-and Sirica selected two lawyers to defend his own ruling before the appeals court-the judge also had to deal with Sam Dash's plea for the tapes. In this case, he appeared to be more favorably disposed toward the White House. He granted the large staff of White House lawyers (ten are now working full time on the Watergate defense) until Sept. 24 to respond to the Ervin committee's demand for the tapes. He set no date for oral arguments after that, and he rejected Dash's claim that the delay would amount to "ruling the Senate out of court." Sirica said that he would "not be pushed into a half-baked job" and that he had not yet even read the committee's 35-page motion seeking the tapes and documents

Despite all the judicial activity and the appeals for haste, there still was no assurance from the President that he would abide by a Supreme Court decision when it does come. He has said



PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT STEVE BULL Contradicting the boss.





DON NIXON (FAR RIGHT) WELCOMES THE FAMILY AT WEDDING OF HIS DAUGHTER LAWRENCE

that he would bow only to "a definitive" decision, but he refused at his press conference last week to explain what he meant by the term. It "would not be appropriate" to do so, he said, since the matter was in the courts

Nixon also avoided answering a pointed question on why he does not feel bound by a Supreme Court decision when "every other American" is subject to court rulings, whether definitive or not. The President merely repeated his arguments on why he thinks Executive privilege must be maintained. adding: "I will simply say that as far as I am concerned, we're going to fight the tape issue. We believe-my counsel believes-that we will prevail in the appellate procedure.

Puzzling Answer. Nixon then repeated, in response to another question, that "there is nothing whatever in the tapes that is inconsistent" with his repeated denials of personal complicity in the Watergate crimes. Yet his answer was puzzling because he said that he had listened to only two of the controversial tapes (Cox is seeking nine tapes). which would seem to be an inadequate base for his generalization that none of the tapes contradict his position.

Moreover, TIME has learned that Steve Bull, a presidential aide, has told Ervin committee investigators that he delivered eight or ten tapes of Watergate conversations to the President on June 4. Bull loaded the tapes onto at least five playback machines. He said that he carried the machines into the President's office in the Executive Office Building, set them up for the President and then left. According to Bull, Nixon kept the tapes for twelve hours. from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., and when Bull retrieved them all of the tapes had been fully unwound. The significance of this discrepancy is not clear-except that once again a Nixon answer could not be automatically accepted as definitive.

#### WIRETAPS

#### My Brother's Beeper?

They call me 'Big Don,' " he once said, "I'm larger than Richard, I'm not a public figure-I'm just a fellow trying to make a living. I don't want to be in the limelight at all.

Big Don-F. Donald Nixon-was caught in the limelight again last week, and the man who put him there was none other than Brother Richard. The Washington Post reported-and nobody really denied-that for more than a year during the President's first term in office he had had the Secret Service tap his brother's telephone

In recent months, the White House has justified tapping the phones of 17 Government officials and newsmen on the grounds of national security. And the White House has excused the secret taping of conversations in the Oval Office, including those with visiting foreign dignitaries, on the theory that history demanded such a record

But why should the President want to keep an ear on the activities of his brother? The most common conjecture in Washington was that the President had been worried about Don's efforts at "trying to make a living." In the past, F. Donald Nixon's attempts to get along in the business world have caused the President acute embarrassment.

A plump, genial figure with the trademark family nose, Don Nixon is a businessman of varying interests who can win friends and influence people not by dropping a name but by bearing it. He has always taken a back seat to Dick. the brother who was expected to get ahead by hard work. When they were children together, Don learned to live with his brother's long and moody silences, which occasionally exploded into angry outbursts. "One time he lit into me and gave me a dressing down I'll never forget," Don once said. "He aired all of his gripes of the past two or three years.

As teen-agers, the two brothers worked side by side in the family grocery store-Don behind the meat counter and Dick handling the produce. Despite their differences in personality. there were bonds between them. In 1940, when Dick was interested in a young schoolteacher named Pat Ryan. he kept Don up half the night talking about the types of engagement rings that he had diligently investigated.

Hughes Loan, When Dick went into politics. Don stayed on with the family store, later worked as a sales manager for Carnation Milk. The first trouble Don caused his brother could not have come at a more sensitive time -the 1960 presidential campaign against John F. Kennedy. Word got out that Howard Hughes had loaned Donald Nixon \$205,000 to help save his chain of quick-order California restaurants called Nixon's. Despite the transfusion from Hughes, which was never repaid, Don went bankrupt. Worse vet, the voters were left to speculate why Hughes, a major manufacturer of de-

fense components, might want to get

into such expensive good standing with

the Nixon family.

The Hughes connection was revived in 1969, when Donald Nixon was roving around with John Meier, who had been engaged in a search for profitable mining properties for the billionaire recluse. Don made a scouting trip with Meier to the Dominican Republic. where the government greeted them like potentates and laid on a heavy military escort, Later, White House Detective John Caulfield wrote a memo to Presidential Counsel John W. Dean III warning that Don had gone to the Dominican Republic with "a small group of wheeler-dealers" who were connect-

ed with Hughes. The results of the mis-

#### THE NATION

sion remain, like most Hughes missions, mysterious. Meier was subsequently dismissed from the Hughes hierarchy, and last month was indicted for income tax evasion. (Now Meier's lawyer is charging that the Government may have obtained evidence against his client illegally through the tapping of Don

Nixon's phone.)

More dark rumors arose in 1971, when Don's only son Don Jr., then 24, was hired as a personal aide by Robert L. Vesco, the wandering financier now under federal indictment for illegally contributing \$200,000 to the Nixon campaign in 1972 and conspiring to obstruct justice. Vesco took such a liking to young Don Nixon that he invited him to move into the family home in Boonton, N.J. It is not altogether clear what work Don Jr. does in return for such treatment, but the two have traveled together abroad and Don Jr. has been quoted as calling Vesco his "best friend

The senior Don Nixon is now vice president for "industry and community relations" for the Marriott Corp., the motel and restaurant chain headed by J. Willard Marriott, a major contributor to Republican causes and a presidential friend who needs no influence to get into the White House. But despite this job in a safe haven, the rumors persist in Washington and California, as they have for years, that Don Nixon is often on the verge of somehow getting tangled up in some kind of deal that could cause grief for his brother

If in a family context the phone taps were understandable, the question re-mains: Were they legal? While refusing to confirm or deny the story that the taps had taken place at all, Deputy Press Secretary Gerald Warren did say: "I am certain, after checking, that any monitoring of the President's immediate family by the Secret Service would have related to the protective function performed by the Secret Service." Secret Service promptly agreed that it was authorized, if need be, to listen in on the conversations of Nixon's wife and two daughters, but noted that the President's brother was not considered part of the immediate family.

The relations between brothers are not defined by Secret Service regulations, however. F. Don Nixon is, for better or for worse, indisputably part of the presidential family.

#### STATE DEPARTMENT

#### Kissinger on the Carpet

The set was certainly familiar, but the actors had changed. Instead of Senator Sam Ervin in the chair of the ornate Caucus Room in the Old Senate Office Building, where the nation had seen and heard Watergate unfold, there sat Senator J. William Fulbright, tan and lean from his vacation. Flanking Fulbright were the members of the Sen-

ate's Foreign Relations Committee. And there in the witness chair, which had been occupied so recently by Dean, Ehrlichman, Haldeman and all the rest, sat Henry Kissinger, resplendent in a diplomatic dark blue suit, his brown hair and brown-rimmed glasses gleaming in the TV lights

Communication Failure, There was no hostility in the air, but the questions were sharp-and occasionally barbed-as Fulbright's committee began its hearings on Kissinger's nomination as Secretary of State. Since early in Nixon's first term, Fulbright had been irritated by the fact that Kissinger, as a White House assistant, could not be summoned by the Senate to justify his policies

Right at the start, Fulbright com-

singer, they were troubled by some other problems:

THE WIRE TAPS. Kissinger admitted that he had acquiesced in the White House tapping of the phones of 17 newsmen and officials, including some of his own staffers. At the time, Kissinger recalled, the White House was deeply concerned about leaks to reporters of National Security Council material. Justifying his involvement in the tapping, Kissinger sounded much like some of the Watergate characters. The "painful but necessary" process, he said, had been ap-proved by the President, the then Attorney General (John Mitchell) and the FBI director (J. Edgar Hoover). "I had been in the Government only four months, and it didn't occur to me to

question the judgment of these individ-

KISSINGER AT HEARINGS ON HIS NOMINATION AS SECRETARY OF STATE Trouble with wiretaps, Cambodia and Executive privilege.

plained that his committee's private and informal meetings with Kissinger had been unsatisfactory and had twice led to a "failure of communication"-once in March 1969 when the Senator understood that the Viet Nam War would soon be ended, and again in April 1970 when he was given no inkling of the surprise invasion of Cambodia that occurred only a week after the meeting.

Kissinger did not dodge the fact that the making of foreign policy in the past had been less than open. He explained: "During the past four years, there were many delicate initiatives that required a high degree of secrecy and concentration of effort. Crucial foundations were laid. Now we need to build a more permanent structure that we can pass on to succeeding Administrations. so doing, Kissinger pledged, he would rk closely and openly with Congress. The Senators were pleased by that

pledge but, despite their respect for Kis-

uals." Still, some of the Senators remained concerned about the whole distasteful business, and the committee asked the Justice Department to send up its secret report on the taps this week. Without the report, warned Fulbright, it would be difficult for the committee to proceed with the hearings

THE BOMBING OF CAMBODIA. Asked if he approved of the secret attacks, Kissinger said, "It was not my role to approve or disapprove; however, I was in agreement with the policy being pursued. Why had the air strikes not been made public? Kissinger said that Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk, who had tacitly agreed to the bombing, would then have had no recourse but to protest. That, in turn would have left the U.S. with no choice but to stop the attacks or to flout the neutrality of Cambodia. As a general principle, however, Kissinger assured the Senators that he believes that "we cannot conduct foreign policy by



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#### THE NATION

deceiving the elected representatives of the people."

EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE. The problem was that Kissinger would stay on as the President's assistant while also serving as Secretary of State, and thus might keep some foreign policy secrets from Congress on the ground of White House privilege. Kissinger insisted that he would testify readily on any matter traditionally covered by the Secretary of State, but that he could not discuss "direct communications with the President or actual deliberations of the Sec."

Kissinger is likely to be probed more deeply on these and other subjects when Fulbright's hearings resume this week. But if the Senators satisfy themselves about his role in the wiretaps, he is expected to be approved. He is eager to confront the challenge that he expressed this way: "Where once we ran the risk of thinking we were too good for the world, we might now swing to believing we are not good enough. Where once a soaring optimism tempted us to dare too much, a shrinking spirit could lead us to attempt too little. Such an attitude, and the foreign policy it would produce, would deal a savage blow to global stability." The Senators could hardly disagree.

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS

#### Paying for Thieu's Police

When William P. Rogers signed the Paris true agreement last January, the U.S. agreed that "advisers to all paramilitary organizations and the police force will be withdrawn" from South Viet Nam and that it would not "intervene in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam." Presumably that meant that the U.S. would stop training and subtive Name of the properties of the U.S. would stop training and subtive Name of the U.S. would stop training and subtive Name of the U.S. would stop training and properties of the U.S. would stop training and properties of U.S. would be u.S. would stop training and properties of U.S. would be u.S. would be u.S. would be u.S. would u.

Later this month, however, as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee sits down to review the 1974 foreign-aid budget, it will find that U.S. aid to Thieu's police continues to flow richly through a series of semicanouflaged channels. Senator Edward M. Kennedy, who has denounced the practice as "re-peating the mistakes and failures of the past," estimates the total at \$15 million a year and adds: "Presumably there is more buried elsewhere."

The largest amount of aid to Thieury police has come openly from the Defense Department. Since the Paris treaty permits one-for-one replacement of worn-out military equipment that was in Viet Nam at the time of the truce, and since the police seem to be wearing out their supplies at a great rate, the Pennagon of the requipment them leps, 88 million this fiscal year. a cost of \$8.8 million this fiscal year.

Next comes \$2.6 million from the U.S. commercial import program. Under this, the Agency for International Development pays U.S. exporters in dollars, but the plasters paid by Vietnamese importers are turned over to Thieu's regime. Saigon's use of the money has helped the police force grow almost 70% since 1968.

One of the most interesting items in the AID budget for the next fiscal year is the funding of a sophisticated comnuter-data system for Thicu's police. By the agency's own estimates, the computer system will have amassed data on 11.5 million South Vietnamese citizens by 1975. Initiated two years ago, the electronic setup is being developed by Computer Sciences Corp. of Los Angeles. Political and personal data on two-thirds of all adult South Vietnamese have already been fed into the system. According to congressional auditors, police training and computers are being financed through a variety of innocent-sounding programs:

► Of AID money budgeted for "technical support," \$869,000 is ear-

marked for the future schooling of 200 South Vietnamese national policemen as computer programmers.

▶ In the name of "public works," \$870,000 is being requested for the replacement of computer and communications equipment.

► Under "public administration general support," \$256,000 is being sought to train 64 national police officers.

When questioned. AID spokesmen have made no effort to deny what their budget involves, and they say that they are adhering to the letter of the Paris and one AID official. "If critics want to stop it," he added, "they can try to get enough support on the Hill. We are supporting the national police within the limitations of the agreement."

Officials of Computer Sciences Corp, meanwhile, are claiming a bliss ful ignorance about their own role in the politics of South Viet Nam. "We are doing nothing to set up dossiers." have no knowledge of what I the South Vietnamesel are doing with the technical training was are giving them." As for its future plans, Computer Sciences has been awarded a \$43 million concess in Washington, starting with population and price figures.



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THE COFFINS OF THE THREE YABLONSKIS IN 1970

#### LABOR

#### The Fall of Tony Boyle

The killers slipped into the house at night, cut the telephone wires and set to work. The daughter was shot first. then the wife, who was trying to hide under the bedclothes. Snapped awake by the shots, the husband was reaching desperately for his own gun when he was cut down by a deadly volley of five bullets

The man killed in Clarksville, Pa., that December night in 1969 was Joseph ("Jock") Yablonski, 59, a tough, gravel-voiced man who had been bold enough to challenge the rule of United Mine Workers President W.A. ("Tony") Boyle. He had charged that Boyle was ignoring miners' health and safety problems, that he had committed fraud and embezzlement and that he ran "the most notoriously dictatorial labor union in America." The miners had listened and then, three weeks before the murders, they had re-elected Boyle by a margin of nearly 2 to 1. The immediate widespread suspicion, almost impossible to prove, was that the killings were related to the bitter election fight and that Tony Boyle himself might have been involved.

Grumbling Locals. Boyle is a little man, pale and bald, quirky and tempestuous, often riven with anger. He has a habit of jerking his head around to look over his right shoulder. Born in a coal camp near Bald Butte, Mont., he came from a mining family, and recalls how his miner father, an Irish immigrant, "died in my arms" of consumption. Boyle inevitably went into the mines himself and, with his fiery temper, became a strong union man, eventually a top official of the Mine Workers in the West. But when U.M.W President John L. Lewis summoned him to the union's Washington headquarters dy-a "glorified clerk," as he put it. After Lewis' retirement, Boyle became president in 1963, and soon had to confront the fact that the U.M.W.'s fortunes had declined with the lessening demand for coal. The membership was down from 600,000 in Lewis' hevday to around 200,000, the locals were

grumbling, and out in western Pennsylvania Jock Yablonski was calling for Boyle's scalp

After the killing of the Yablonskis. the FBI, checking fingerprints left at the scene, quickly arrested three men: a house painter named Paul Gilly and a pair of young drifters, Aubran Martin and Claude Vealey, all from Cleveland. Richard A. Sprague, the first assistant district attorney in Philadelphia, got Vealey to confess and then won convictions of Martin and Gilly, But Sprague was determined to find out who had organized the murders. He got Gilly's wife to implicate her father, a minor Ú.M.W. official named Silous Huddleston. Huddleston in turn said that the plot had been conceived in Washington. and that his boss in the scheme had been Albert Pass, a member of the U.M.W.'s international executive board.

Last spring Pass was convicted of first-degree murder, but he refused to accuse Boyle (who had lost the union presidency to Reformer Arnold Miller in a federal court-ordered re-election last December).

Minutes after the Pass trial ended, Sprague called a meeting in his motel room of the team that was pursuing the case: five FBI men, two Pennsylvania investigators and two of his own assistants. Sprague came up with some 20 leads to check out, including Pass's boss, William Jenkins Turnblazer, 52, president of the union's District 19 in the coal fields of eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. Turnblazer was a good friend of Boyle, who had given him his job. but Sprague had a hunch that the mildmannered unionist was a troubled man who knew something. Sprague asked

FBI Special Agent Henry Quinn to go after Turnblazer very carefully: "Take all the time in the world."

It took Ouinn a month and a half of gentle persuasion. Sometimes the two men would drive off together on the lonely Tennessee and Kentucky roads. talking for hours about every phase of the case. In mid-August, Turnblazer declared that he had something to say and agreed to talk while a lie detector monitored his replies. Told that "the box" showed that his account was incomplete. Turnblazer said, "O.K., here's the whole story

Shouting Match. Turnblazer said that he had been present at a meeting on June 23, 1969, in the U.M.W.'s national headquarters, when Yablonski and Boyle had staged a shouting match that ended with each calling the other a crook. After Yablonski had left, Boyle took Pass and Turnblazer aside and told them: "This guy is going to murder us. Boyle then said that Yablonski "ought to be killed or done away with.

Three months later, said Turnblazer. Pass returned from a trip to Washington to say that Boyle had confirmed the slaving contract and that the two had figured out a way of embezzling \$20,000 of union funds to finance the killing. Last week William Turnblazer made a formal confession of his own guilt and charged his old friend with masterminding and setting in motion the murder plot.

When they came to get Tony Boyle. now 71, he was giving a deposition in Washington on another union case. As it happened, he was being cross-examined caustically by Joseph ("Chip") Yablonski, the younger of the family's two sons, who was living away from home at the time of the killings. Since then, Yablonski has been helping to lead the pursuit of Boyle. "It's been a long wait," said Yablonski after watching the arrest. With an FBI agent lightly holding each of the little man's arms. Tony Boyle was led away.

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#### THE MIDDLE EAST

#### The Arabs' Final Weapon

"Oil and politics don't mix," Saudi Arabia's King Feisal once proclaimed, brusquely rebuffing arguments that he should cut off oil to nations that supported Israel. In the energy-crisis years of the '70s, however, oil and politics not only mix; they form an entirely new and dangerously explosive-element in the equation of world power. That reality was made all too plain last week by Feisal himself. Speaking more strongly than ever before, he very clearly warned the U.S. that its support of Israel might be at the price of Saudi oil oil that the U.S. will desperately need in the decade ahead

"Other Measures." Coming from an Arab conservative who has always been considered one of America's good friends. Feisal's words were, despite their restrained tone, particularly chilling. "As friends of the U.S. and in the interest of maintaining and cementing this friendship," he said in an interview with NBC, "we counsel the U.S. to change its one-sided policy of favoritism to Zionism and support against the Arabs. We are deeply concerned that if the U.S. does not change its policy, it will affect our relations with our American friends [and] place us in an untenable position in the Arab world. I want to draw the attention of my American friends to this serious situation so that we would not reach the point where we would be compelled to take other measures

Those "other measures" would almost certainly not involve a complete closing of the Saudi oil spigot. More probably, Saudi Arabia might limit the expansion of oil production that the U.S. has counted on to fill its future



needs. Under plans announced last year, the Saudis had promised to boost production from 8,000,000 bbl. a day to 20 million by 1980 (U.S. oil production, by contrast, is expected to remain at 12 million bb, per day). So great is at 12 million bb, per day). So great is will more than double during this decade—that a decision by Saudi Arabia to allow only modest expansion might affect economic growth in the West.

As if Feisal's words were not warning enough. Libya took another in a long series of actions designed to gain control of its oil. The regime decreed that Libya would nationalize 51%—enough for full control—of five major oil companies operating in the country, including properties owned by Exon, Mobil, Texaco, Socal, and Shell. The Libyan government also declared that the companies must raise the price of oil from \$4.90 to \$6 a barrel. If the oil com-





SAUDI ARABIA'S KING FEISAL LIBYA'S COLONEL GADDAFI

pensive, and inflation would be given still another boost.

The Nixon Administration, which has been accused by critics of being almost oblivious to the energy crunch until recently, is now aware of the dangers ahead. At his White House news conference last week, President Nixon indirectly responded to Feisal's warning by saying that he was giving "highest priority" to a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In a tone that Tel Aviv could scarcely welcome, he evenhandedly blamed both sides: "Israel simply can't wait for the dust to settle, and the Arabs can't wait for the dust to settle in the Mideast. Both sides are at fault. Both sides need to start negotiating. That is our position. We're not pro-lsrael, and we're not any more pro-Arab because they have the oil and Israel hasn't.

The President went on to warn the Arabs that if they continued their threats, they might find, as Iran did two decades ago, that their buyers had decided to go to friendlier sellers. "Oil without a market," said Nixon, "as Mr. Mossadegh\* learned many, many years igo, doesn't do a country much good. The inevitable result [of Arab pressure] is that they will lose their markets, and other sources will be developed." Later in the week, searching for those new sources, Nixon urged Congress to act on already pending measures that would. among other things, permit construction of a pipeline for Alaskan oil. He also said the Government would step up the use of atomic energy and would Referring to Iran's late, mercurial Prime Min-ister Mohammed Mossadegh, who in 1951 na-tionalized British oil interests in his country. In retaliation, the oil companies organized a boy-cott against Iranian petroleum. Within two years

# The 21st cen

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A bag named Sam

#### THE WORLD

try to find ways of extracting coal without being "too destructive" to the

The barsh fact is, however, that there are no other sources immediately available. Through an accident of georgaphy, the Arab nations sit on 55% of the world's proved of reserves. Unifour years ago, the U.S., which has so much oil that it could export is. excess. But consmiption, which is growing at a rate of about 7½% a year, has leaped past domestie production. Only last week Washington warned that there will be a service solven growing the solven will be a service solven growing the solven when the solven was solven growing the solven will be a service solven growing the growing the solven growing the growing that growing the gr

In 1970 the U.S. got only 16% of its crude oil from outside the country; in the first half of 1973 it got 23.5%. By 1980 it is estimated that the nation will get 39% of its oil from overseas. Even after a pipeline is approved, oil from the North Slope of Alaska will not be available for at least five years. Venezuela, long a major exporter, is running low on reserves. Canada has warned that it, too, might not be counted on for oil. Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau last week announced plans to divert some 500,000 bbl. per day of Canadian oil from the American Midwest to Quebec and Eastern Canada. An alternative solution to the crisis would, of course, be for the U.S. to reduce consumption to the level of domestic production, but it is doubtful that Americans would cooperate.

Already the politics of oil has changed the equation of power within the Arab world. For the first time. Feisal is in a position to assume the mantle of leadership. Pressed by radicals like Libya's Strong Man Muammar Gaddafi. and deeply resentful of Israel's occupation of Arab lands and Islam's holy places. Feisal, 69, is believed to feel that circumstances are now favorable for a new move against Israel. He has already given Egypt \$600 million from his own coffers, mostly for arms and commodities; he has leaned on his neighbors, Abu Dhabi and Qatar, to chip in \$600 million more. Now he is using his influence with the U.S. "Oil," says one Beirut analyst, "is the final weapon.

Softening the Hard Line. The Israelis claim to be unconcerned about Feisal's warring. "Only good can come to Israel from these threats," says an Israeli official. "We wait smilling for the boomerang to come back. Oil is too inportant to the U.S. for it to submit to one demost because the submit of the Israelism of the Israelism of the Israelism of the U.S. for it to submit to one demost because the Israelism of the Israelism of the U.S. for it to submit to one demost because the Israelism of the Israelism of the U.S. for it to submit to one back miles to the Israelism of the Israelism of the U.S. for it to submit to one back miles to the Israelism of the Israelism of the U.S. for it to submit to the Israelism of the U.S. for it to submit to the Israelism of the Israelism of Israeli

There is, in fact, no thought in Washington of abandoning Israel: the Administration has concluded an agreement to send Israel 48 more Phantom jets and 36 more Skyhawks over the next four years, thereby ensuring Israel's air superiority in the Middle East.

There will, however, be much more American pressure on the Israelis to make greater efforts toward reaching a peace settlement. The oil crisis may lessen the traditional power of the Israeli lobby in the U.S. State Department analysts believe. In fact, Henry Kissinger, the first Jewish Secretary of State, may be in a better position than his predemand the properties of the Israelis according to this view, may thus be made to soften their current hard line toward to soften their current hard line toward

the Arabs.

A Reasonable Man. In the long run, the Arab threats may backfire, expecially if the U.S buckles down and actively tries to conserve energy and to the tries to conserve energy and to the U.S. has was supplies of oil tied up in shale deposits and there is, presumably, America's inschausible technological ingenuity, which may finally be able to make a tomic power safe and profitable and harness the power of the sun. "Once your great country gets off its awa and turms all its unemployed scientists loose, Euronean suckessman for Shell Oil."

That will take years. Meanwhile the U.S. must find some other means of keeping the oil flowing. Fortunately, Feisal is a reasonable man. "We're damned lucky we're dealing with Feisal and not Venezuela, Libya, or Algeria," says Wanda Jablonski, publisher of Petroleum Intelligence Weekly and an astute observer of the oil scene. Talking with the King and with Israel's Golda Meir will undoubtedly be near the top of Henry Kissinger's agenda as Secretary of State. For some time to come, however, the U.S. must face a disturbing fact of life: There is a new game in the Middle East, and the Arabs hold

#### CAMBODIA

#### The Rebels Move

Ever since the U.S. bombing half usen into effect on Aug. 15, the most ominous question about Cambodia's future has been: When would the Hanoi-backed Khmer insurgents make their big move? Despite several weeks of conter cheel forces had been able to move to within ten miles of the capital of Phnom-Penh prior to the deadline. Those sweeping advances suggested that the troops of Cambodian President Lon Nol, once they were denied the support of U.S. warplanes, would be hard-particles.

Last week more than 5,000 insurgents laid siege to a comparable force of government soldiers defending Kompong Cham, Cambodia's third largest city (peacetime pop. 125,000, now about 65,000), approximately 50 miles northeast of Phnom-Penh. Lon Nol vowed that he would not let Kompong Cham fall and dispatched Major General Sar Hor, the highly regarded Minister of Veteran Affairs, to take charge of its defenses. Nonetheless, the insurgents steadily advanced. Using American 105-mm. howitzers captured last month from fleeing government troops, they massively shelled the city, rendering Kompong Cham's airport useless. Government supplies and reinforcements had to be brought in by boat convoy, helicopter or air drop. By midweek, antigovernment gunners had zeroed in so closely on helicopter landing pads that many pilots could not land. The advance was so rapid that two C-130s erroneously dropped 28 tons of government supplies behind the insurgents'



TWO GOVERNMENT SOLDIERS AT BATTLE SITE NORTH OF PHNOM-PENH
Fighting a war that has less and less meaning.

#### THE WORLD

lines, thus giving them plenty of new ammunition for their captured artillery.

Though Lon Nol threw several thousand fresh reserves into the battle, the rebels continued to move toward the city's limits. One government soldier, evacuated to a hospital in Phnom-Penh, moaned: "They just keep coming and coming." At a large textile factory just outside the town-which had been built for Cambodia by China-Lon Nol's troops fled under fire while the workers and managers remained behind, trying unsuccessfully to hold back the insurgent attacks. Inside the city itself. house-to-house fighting erupted around the central marketplace when rebel infiltrators suddenly surfaced. Using armored scout cars that they had captured from the government, the rebels moved against the governor's mansion and its important helicopter pad. Despite insurgent gains, the government said at week's end that it could hold the town, however, and the outcome of the battle was still in doubt

Real Test. The battle for Kompong Cham thus became the first real test of Lon Nol's army since the end of U.S. bombing support. The Communistbacked forces would like to make that city their provisional capital after it is captured. Once Kompong Cham falls, little will prevent the insurgents from moving south for an onslaught against Phnom-Penh. In terms of timing, the insurgents have the initiative. The capital's defenses remain relatively weak, despite the occasionally strong showing of some government army units in clearing the highways that radiate from Phnom-Penh. Some military observers believe that the rebels may decide to hold off their attack until the end of the year, when the waters will have receded from the monsoon-swollen countryside, thus making movement of troops easier. A delay would also give them time to prepare an administrative cadre to take over the capital.

There are no present signs that diplomatic efforts can avert what threatens to become a bloody battle for the capital. Talks involving the U.S. and North Viet Nam are getting nowhere. The Cambodians themselves are doing little to speed a negotiated peace. Lon Nol and his colleagues continue to hurl barbs and insults at former Cambodian Leader Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the insurgents' principal spokesman; Sihanouk returns the insults. The mood of Phnom-Penh itself does little to convey a feeling of urgency. It remains a leafy, dreamy city in which the state orchestra could enthusiastically perform a public concert of waltz music while Kompong Cham was under seige. This loss of touch with reality was alluded to last week by retiring U.S. Ambassador Emory Swank at his farewell press conference in Phnom-Penh. Looking pale and tired after three years in Cambodia, Swank told reporters: "The war is losing its purpose and has less and less meaning.



BOUMEDIENNE GREETS SELASSIE



MRS. GANDHI ARRIVES IN ALGIERS



SEAL OF THE CONFERENCE



SIHANOUK WITH HOST



#### DIPLOMACY

#### Welcome to the Third World

For three days last week one 21-gun salute after another boomed out over Algiers' Dar el Beida international airport, as kings, presidents and dictators arrived from all over the Third World. There was gray-bearded Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, one of the world's longest-reigning monarchs, and Fidel Castro of Cuba, still the archetypal revolutionary in his olive-drab uniform. There, too, was King Feisal of Saudi Arabia, exiled Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India and scores of others.

After the airport greeting by Algerian President Houari Boumedienne, each of the visiting heads of state (59 in all, plus representatives from 17 other nations) was driven off to the elggant Club des Pins, a seaside resort above the Mediterranean. Atop each white stucco vital flew the standard of white stucco vital flew the standard of some encampment of medieval knights about to go into combat.

The dignituries had not come to Agries for combat, however. They gives for combat, however. They gives for combat, however. They care there to attend the fourth Summit Conference or Non-Aligned Countries, a loose-knit organization formed in 1961 doing the heat of the cold war by 1970. Egypt's Gamal Nasser and India's 134-wahafal Nehru. Then, the foremost wahafal Nehru. Then, the foremost means by which the smaller and poor-enations of the world could protect themselves from political and economic encroachment by the superpowers.

The Economic Theme, Nasser and Nehru are both gone now, and the international climate has changed as well. One major question facing the leaders in Algiers: Do détente and the relaxation of tensions among the big powers invalidate the need for a policy of nonalignment? Or does détente serve to reinforce the status quo-that is, a world of a few strong nations and many weak ones-and hence make the need for a coordinated policy all the more imperative? Apparently hoping to offset such a conclusion, Soviet Party Leader Leonid Brezhnev sent a message to Boumedienne arguing that the issue was not between big and small or rich and poor but "between the forces of socialism and reaction.

The Algerian President tactfully made no public reply. But Brezhnev's thesis did not exactly fit the mood of the assembly. As Algeria's leading Arabic daily Al Chaab observed on the eve of the conference: "Nowadays the division is between rich (the others) and poor (us)." In his keynote speech, Boumedienne hammered on the economic

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AMERICAN EXPRESS



#### THE WORLD

theme. He charged that the colonial powers have used Third World raw materials for their own enrichment and castigated both the maneuverings of multinational companies and the monetary crises created by big-power policies. After calling for a common monetary policy among developing nations. he concluded: "Our political independence will remain illusory unless we achieve a true economic liberation." In a draft economic declaration, the Algerian delegation went on to spell out a kind of couscous brand of nonalignment; it urged recognition of the right of Third World countries to nationalize foreign companies and a redefinition of the role of the World Bank so that its financial resources would be more equitably distributed.

Economics was the dominant but by no means the only concern of the delegates, who took turns mouthing the familiar and expectable denunciations of imperialism, Zionism and racism. There was no comparable repudiation of guerrilla violence, even though Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, condemned the actions of the terrorists who had seized the Saudi embassy in Paris (see following story) as "criminal" and denied that his organization had any responsibility for them. In fact, the incident created considerable embarrassment for the Arabs. At one point there were fears that a Syrian plane with the terrorists and their hostages aboard was heading toward Algiers; jittery Algerian officials announced that under no circumstances would it be allowed to land

Concrete Proposals. The choice of Algiers as the site of the conference meant that, by and large, this one would be dominated by the Arab nations. much as the 1970 meeting in Zambia was by Black Africa. Nonetheless, with so many illustrious and sometimes clashing luminaries under one roof, there were bound to be fireworks. One such incident occurred when Castro declared that Moscow was the nonaligned world's best friend in the fight against U.S. imperialism. Whereupon Prince Sihanouk took to the floor and, without bothering with a microphone, began vigorously dissenting. "We fully respect the Soviet Union," he declared. "But one thing we cannot understand is why Moscow maintains diplomatic relations with the Lon Nol clique of traitors with whom we are fighting.

Given the presence of such strong and diverse personalities, it is perhaps surprising that any agreement could be reached at all. At week's end in fiell to reached at all. At week's meaning the reached at all. At the surprise of the reached at all. At the surprise of a surprise of surprise



ARAB DIPLOMATS ESCORTING TERRORISTS & HOSTAGES TO SYRIAN JET IN PARIS

#### TERRORISM

#### Crime and the Punishment

Shortly before 9:30 am, one day last week, five well-dressed young Arabs walked into the consular section of the Saudi Arabian embassy in Paris. There, in a now familiar ritual of terror, they pulled out automatic weapons and grenades and barricaded themselves inside the embassy with 15 employees whom they seized as hostigated with 15 employees.

The latest act of violence by Palestinian guerrillas took place on the anniversary of the Munich massacre, in which members of a fedayeen organization called Black September killed eleven Israeli athletes during the Olympic Games. The embassy episode was perpetrated by a splinter group called Al 'Igab (the Punishment), which even the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beirut professed not to know about. Despite the threatening tone of their words, the Punishment terrorists at first seemed intent on avoiding bloodshed, and in fact went out of their way to announce that they "did not want to be another Munich

As French authorities rushed heavily armed special police to surround the two-story embassy in Paris' Passy district, the gumme announced that they would release their hostages only if Jordan would free Abu Daud, a former high-ranking leader of Al-Fatah who is serving a life sentence in a Jordanian prison for allegedly plotting to overtriow King Husseni's regime. Jordan categorically refused.\* The gummen then temporarily shelved their insis-

\*As it did last March, when guertillas who took over the Saudi Arabian embassy in the Sudan demanded freedom for Abu Daud. In retaliation, those terrorists killed one Belgian and two American diplomats who were being held as hostages. tence on Abu Daud's release and asked instead for a plane and crew to fly them to an Arab capital—preferably Algiers, where the Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries was meeting.

Under pressure from Arab diplomats who mediated between the guerrillas and government officials in Paris, the French reluctantly agreed. The Arab diplomats, however, had trouble finding an airline willing to fly the terrorists, and the delay made the gunmen edgy. Trying to ease the tension, Kuwait Ambassador Feisal Saleh Al-Mutawa stood on the curb outside the embassy and through a megaphone pleaded with the terrorists to be reasonable. Explaining the difficulties in arranging for a getaway plane, he shout-"We couldn't contact the Arab Foreign Ministers in Algiers during the night. They were sleeping." Retorted the gunmen: "We don't give a damn about their sleep! We're going to ex-ecute the hostages right away!" "Listen to me," begged the ambassador. "You're getting upset unnecessarily. The French government and we are in entire agreement. The only thing missing is the plane." "All these words are useless, the gunmen yelled back. "We are going to start shooting in a few seconds, and the French women will be the first to be executed.

Grim Warning. Luckily, they did not shoot. They set deadline after deadline for the arrival of the plane and their departure, and each time one deadline expired they set another. About 27 hours after they entered the embassy, Syrian Arab Airlines had provided a Caravelle jet and the French government had arranged for safe transit. Packed into a minibus, the gunmen, their male hostages and Iraqi Ambassador Mohammed Naama El Naama (who had voluntarily substituted himself for the women hostages) sped to Le Bourget airport. There the terrorists released El Naama and three employees of the embassy, pushed four others, all

#### THE WORLD

Saudis, onto the plane and took off, After flying to Kuwait, where they exchanged the Caravelle for a Kuwait Airways Boeing 707 capable of flying 6,200 miles, they headed for Saudi Arabia. Circling over Riyadh, the Saudi capital, they warned that unless Jordan released Abu Daud they would "throw out the hostages one after the other."

Jordan remained firm in its refusal. When it became apparent that Jordan would not bend, the terrorists once again backed away from their ultimatum and returned to Kuwait.

At the airport in Kuwait another min-drama ensued. The terrorists demanded a car to drive them to Syria, but then they decided to hold hostage the driver, the head of the Palestine Libration Stiller in Kuwait and the man who had been conducting negotiations. Totally exasperated by the terrorist's conduct, the Kuwait authorists thereupon surrounded the plane to the conducting and the stiller than the conducting and meekly surrendered, giving up their four Saudi hostages unharmed and ended to the conduction of th

#### ISRAEL

#### **Battle of the Generals**

Not all of Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Davan's famous victories have been won on the desert sands. Last week he scored a notable triumph in a meeting of the Secretariat, the governing body of Israel's ruling Labor Party. By a vote of 78-0, the members approved a Dayan-originated plan-long and bitterly opposed by such doves as Foreign Minister Abba Eban and Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir-for Israeli economic penetration into the occupied Arab territories. The Secretariat vote enormously enhanced Dayan's position within the Labor Party and quite possibly established him as the man most likely to succeed Golda Meir as Premier. The fate of the plan-which calls

for the Israeli treasury to put up \$287 in million for new development projects in the occupied territories, including \$5: in the occupied territories, including \$5: an ain and the \$Gaza—was never really in ain and the \$Gaza—was never really in doubt. Sapir left before the vote, asking—in an admission of defeat—to have his recorded in the affirmative. In all, \$3 members of the \$16: hence the same presumably left that the result of the vote was assured, but others felt nervous about expressing their opposition.

only negative sentiment was voiced by former Party Secretary-General Arieh Eliav. "This program is brought before us with the lashing of the whip of time and the scourage of haste and panic!" he shouted. "There are many in this land whose souls weep in silence because of whose souls weep in silence because of the ideological Jewry of silence and neyer, at no price and in no forum, will I

ever vote for this document." Sneered Golda Meir: "I have lived through 50 years of political activity and never before have we had a comrade who set himself up as a messiah." Taken aback, Eliav announced that he would not vote at all.

Enactment of the development plan -which makes it appear less and less likely that Israel will ever voluntarily surrender any part of the occupied territories—has profound international implications. In fact, the Secretariat vote was not inspired by any spirit of nose-thimbing defiance toward the U.N. or the Arab world, but by Labor month's general elections on the point of point incidence or not, the impetus to form the Union came from another military hero, retired General Ariel Sharon, and the Union became a reality only in response to popular pressure. When negotiations were foundering, polls showed that the Israeli public was spoiling for a head-bumping political battle between well-matched opponents.

Sow they may get printing the contraction of the



GOLDA MEIR & MOSHE DAYAN VISITING ARAB REFUGEE CAMP IN GAZA

absolute majority in the 120-member Knesset (Parliament). The charismatic Dayan, who is somewhat more popular with the electorate at large than he is with other leaders of the Labor Party, had threatender, in effect, to solk in his tent through the election if the plan was not adopted. If Dayan were to defect from Labor or even withdraw from the campaign in silence, the party would stand to lose eight to ten seats and might even be toppled from power.

each te uppleat it on Boyed his allies have apparently been placated, Labor faces strong opposition from a brand-new and imposing middle-of-the-road coalition. After a month of fitful new and imposing middle-of-the-road ordinary for the properties of the propertie

#### SOUTH ASIA

#### Wrapping Up the War

In a mood of restrained jubilation and cautious hope, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladesh officials settled down last week to tackle the immense logistical problems posed by a new peace settlement that affects the whole subcontinent. After 19 days of hard bargaining in Islamabad and New Delhi. India and Pakistan agreed-with Bangladesh concurrence-that 1) 90,000 Pakistani military and civilian prisoners of war who have been held captive in India since the end of the December 1971 Indo-Pakistani war will be sent home; 2) an estimated 200,000 Bengalis stranded in Pakistan at war's end will be allowed to return to Bangladesh: 3) "a substantial number" of Biharis (non-Bengali Moslems) in Bangladesh will be repatriated to Pakistan.

Although the agreement resolves the most important problems left

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PAKISTANI P.O.W.S LEAVING FOR INDIA (1971)
Jubilation and hope.

over from the war, certain key details remain to be ironed out. Under the terms of the agreement, Islamabad and Dacca—after the simultaneous repartiation of detainees is completed—will enter into direct negotiations on the fate of 195 ranking Pakistan P.O.W.s that Bangladesh wants to try for war crimes. The prisoners will remain in settled.

It is also uncertain how many Biharis, many of whom were partisans of the Pakistani forces during the war and as a result face a bleak future in Bangladesh, will be allowed to go to Pakistan. The initial exchange is estimated to involve about 80,000, although Bangladesh has said that as many as 250,000 Biharis have indicated a desire to be repartiated.

Even under the best of circumstances, the mass migration would be no easy task for the three countries to arrange. Indian transport officials estimate that nearly 100 trains will be required to empty the 50 P.O.W. camps. Complicating the return of the prisoners is the fact that both India and Pakistan in recent weeks have been ravaged by the worst floods in decades. Rail traffic has been disrupted, bridges have been washed away and highways made impassable. Because of the distances involved, the Bengalis and Biharis will have to be transported by sea and airlifts. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, whose office spearheaded the international aid effort for the 10,000,000 Bengali refugees who fled to India during the war. will very likely oversee the exchange, Substantial funds will be required, however, and U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim is expected to make a world appeal for aid.

Some diplomatic critics have point-

ed out that the agreement contained nothing that could not have been worked out a year ago. But Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who held the weakest cards, felt it nesessary to shore up his own political foundations at home before risking domestic disfavor by dealing with his country's enemies. In the end, he acquiesced almost totally to a joint proposal offered last April by India and Baneladesh.

In addition to ending the suffering of countless people, the agreement will have far-reaching political consequences. Pakistan has pledged to recognize the independence of its former eastern wing, thereby clearing the way for Bangladesh to become a member of the U.N. some time this fall. Hopes are high that disputes over national debts incurred before the breakup can now be quickly resolved and that a mutually beneficial economic relationship between the countries can be re-established. For its part, India is relieved of the \$1,000,000-a-month burden of maintaining the prisoners

The agreement should also go a long way toward balancing the relations of the subcontinent nations with their big-power neighbors. New Delhi which has a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union, is anxious to upgrade its diplomatic relations with Peking as a counterweight to Russian influence. As Pakistan's closest ally, China has withheld recognition of Bangladesh. and last year used its veto in the Security Council to deny it U.N. membership. Some sources in Dacca now believe that Peking will recognize Bangladesh even before Pakistan does. That would allow the Chinese to recover a profitable market for their manufactured goods-and offset the favorable impression that Moscow made in Bangladesh by its postwar relief efforts.

#### SOVIET UNION

#### Challenge and Reprisal

"If they beat me, I will admit anything." Soviet Historian Pyotr Yakir told a journalist before he was arrested last year. "I know this from my former experience in the camps. But you'll know it won't be the real me speaking." Last week Yakir was paraded be-

fore 300 foreign and Russian newsmen for an extraordinarily confessional press conference at Moscow's Journalists' Club. Looking remarkably fit despite 15 months of pretrail detention and interrogation, the leonine-headed dissident recited a prepared statement in a monotone while smoking Bulgarian cigarettes and sipping Caucasian mineral water. Along with his convicted codefendant, Economist Viktor Krasin, Yakir repeated the recantations that had earned them both relatively mild sentences (three years in prison and three years of exile) at their trial on charges of subversion (TIME, Sept. 10).

L'atest Effort. Yakir, who has already served I7 years in Soviet prison camps, insisted that he had worked for camps, insisted that he had worked for centre of the prison of the prison of the prison consisted prison of the prison of the prison of the said Yakir and Krasin, was a foreign said Yakir and Krasin, was a foreign to the U.S.S. R. The dissident movement, said Yakir and Krasin, was a foreign chilling recital recalled the hands, the chilling recital recalled the paths, the classions at the purge trials of the 1930s. Soviet spoksemen went out of their way last week, however, to insist that the proposent a return to Stalinism.

Broadcast on Soviet state television, the press conference was the latest effort by the Kremlin to dismiss domestic critics of the regime as foreign agents even as the state further terrorizes the dwindling band of dissidents. At the



KRASIN & YAKIR DURING PRESS CONFERENCE AT MOSCOW'S JOURNALISTS' CLUB
An extraordinary confessional evoked memories of the 1930s.

#### THE WORLD

same time, a massive Soviet press campaign was mounted against the two towering spiritual leaders of Russia's "democratic movement," Physicist Andrei Sakharov and Novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn. With an evident absence of spontaneity, hundreds of indignant letter writers spewed forth abuse against the two intellectuals in the pages of Prayda, Izvestia and other official newspapers. In part, the list of Sakharov's and Solzhenitsyn's accusers read like an "S. Hurok presents" concert program. Violinists David Oistrakh and Leonid Kogan wrote that Sakharov is "stirring up the dying coals of the cold war." Dmitri Shostakovich, who once praised Stalin for his "wise and delicate" musical advice, joined Aram Khachaturian and other composers in accusing Sakharov of debasing "the honor and dignity of the Soviet intelligentsia." Scientists, writers, even farmers and factory workers chimed in with other messages of accusation against the two dissidents.

Legal Action. This highly orchestrated campaign is obviously calculated to prepare public opinion for legal action against Sakharov, who helped develop the Soviet hydrogen bomb, and Solzhenitsyn, the Nobel prizewinning author. Just as obviously, bold recent statements by both men to foreign journalists have strained the Kremlin's tolerance close to the breaking point. Speaking of East-West détente at a Moscow press conference last month, Sakharov warned that "rapprochement without democratization is very dangerous. It might lead to very grave consequences inside our country and contaminate the whole world with an antidemocratic character." This was strong criticism indeed of Party Secretary Leonid Brezhnev's policy of seeking economic cooperation abroad while putting down dissent at home. Sakharov compounded his offense by recommending one action that the U.S. Congress could take to open Soviet doors -adopting the Jackson Amendment, which would bar most-favored-nation economic status to countries restricting emigration

As for Solzhenitsyn, he has tried to counter the attacks on his loyalty and integrity by revealing details of official harassment, including secret police threats to murder him and his family. In another statement issued to Western newsmen last week, he disclosed that a Leningrad woman had hanged herself after five days of interrogation by the KGB had forced her to reveal the whereabouts of a hidden Solzhenitsyn manuscript. Police seizure of this unpublished work-a documentary record of Stalinist concentration camps-has greatly alarmed the author because 200 of the prisoners he interviewed for the book are still alive. They are now subject to reprisal, as is Solzhenitsvn.

Assessing the impact of these repressive acts on East-West détente, TIME Moscow Correspondent John

Shaw cabled last week that "the Soviet leaders are setting the stage for the meeting of the European Security Conference in Geneva on Sept 18. They are putting the West on notice that they are eager to import foreign technology, but are adamant in rejecting the 'freer flow' of ideas proposed by Western ESC nations. The Soviets have revealed that dissent is a live issue at home, contradicted their claim that the dissenters are few and unimportant, reverted to Stalinist methods of marshaling opinion. and openly challenged the West as to how firmly it is prepared to stand by its humanist beliefs. Soviet suppression of dissenting opinion, in short, has become as much of a challenge to the West as the recent Soviet MIRV (multiple targetable re-entry vehicles) tests that violated the spirit of the SALT talks and of Nixon-Brezhnev summitry.



#### CHINA

#### The Symbolic Worker

"We have too many elderly people in our government. We should learn from you because you have more young people in your government.

So said Premier Chou En-lai to Richard Nixon during the U.S. President's visit to China. Now, China has moved to narrow that age gap. The Tenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (TIME, Sept. 10) injected a shot of young blood into its Politburo -at least eleven of whose 21 full members are more than 65 years old-by naming Wang Hung-wen, 37, to membership and electing him one of the party's five vice chairmen. The prominent role that Wang played at the Congress and the widespread press coverage he has subsequently received within China leave no doubt that today he ranks third in the party structure, below Chairman Mao Tse-tung, 79, and Chou, 75. Wang's rise to the top has been re-

markably swift. Only seven years ago he held the lowly position of party secretary in Shanghai's No. 17 Cotton Mill, a job quite in keeping with his peasant background and lack of college education. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, launched by Mao in 1966, gave Wang a chance to demonstrate his formidable organizational skills. He was recruited by Shanghai's Chang as leader of the Cultural Revolution. In December 1966, Red Guards led by Wang occupied the offices of the Liberation Daily, the Shanghai party newspaper. Several months later, Wang mobilized combat groups of Red Guards to oppose the so-called Scarlet Guards, who were defending Shanghai's anti-Maoist party apparatus. They reneatedly clashed on the streets until Wang's group triumphed and the

bureaucrats admitted defeat. Mao hailed the victory of Shanghai's Red Guards as a model of how the rest of China could revolutionize the party machinery from below. Wang was rewardof the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. He visited other cities making speeches, was given a place of honor on the rostrum in Peking during the October 1968 National Day celebration and was elected to the party Central Committee in April 1969.

China watchers in the West know almost nothing about Wang's private life. He is believed by some to be a bachelor and is known to have traveled abroad only once-to Albania. Thin but well muscled, he smiles easily and appears to have a knack for establishing immediate rapport in conversation with others. In short, the youthful-looking Wang would

appear to be an almost ideal symbol of the growing power of peasants and workers within the party structure.

Ideologically, Wang is also something of an unknown quantity. On issues affecting party structure and economic priorities, he may well side with the radicals on the Politburo, including Mao's wife Chiang Ching and other members of the so-called Shanghai Clique. He voiced sentiments reflecting his Red Guard past when he told the Tenth Congress: "A true Communist must act without any selfish considerations and dare to go against the tide, fearing neither removal from his post. expulsion from the party, imprison-ment, divorce or guillotine." Wang also warned that "[cultural] revolutions will have to be carried out many times in the future.

But Wang, in order to survive in the party structure, may try to walk a tightrope between the radicals and the pragexample, there was one significantly moderate note in his speech to the Congress, when he pledged, on behalf of



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#### THE WORLD



GENERAL IDI AMIN DADA SOUNDING OFF Verbal buckshot and off-the-cuff oratory.

the party's young members, "to learn modestly from the strong points of veteran cadres."

Wang has already proved that he is a quick student. If he can learn how to unify the party's still quarreling factions, he might well accede one day to the lofty position now held by Mao.

#### UGANDA

#### Big Daddy's Big Mouth

For manic bombast and sheer tactlessness, none of the world's leaders can compete with the big mouth of Uganda's General Idi ("Big Daddy") Amin Dada. Were it not for his dismal record as a capricious dictator-in addition to expelling 42,000 noncitizen Asians from Uganda, he has crippled the country's economy in the 32 months since his successful coup-Big Daddy's brand of verbal buckshot might be considered amusing. As it is, his off-the-cuff oratory mostly reflects his instability and ignorance. A sampling of the kind of rhetoric that has prompted President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to call Amin "a madman" and "a buffoon":

"Hitler was right about the Jews, because the Israelis are not working in the interests of the people of the world, and that is why they burned the Israelis alive with gas in the soil of Germany." (In a cable to U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, September 1972.)

"Some Asians in Uganda have been painting themselves black with shoe polish. Asians are our brothers and sisters. If anyone is found painting himself with black polish, disciplinary action will be taken against him." (In a speech in Brazzaville, August 1973.)

"I am told that venereal disease is very high with you ... You had better go to the hospital to make yourselves very clean, or you will infect the whole population. I don't want you spoiled by gonorrhea." (In an address to students of Kampala's Makerere University,

summer 1972.)

"I want to assure you that I love you very much, and if you had been a woman, I would have considered marrying you." (In a telegram to an old adversary, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerrer, August 1972.)

Amin claims to admire the U.S., yet he has gone out of his way to needle President Nixon and sent him a July 4th greeting wishing him a "speedy recovery" from Watergate.

Last week Big Daddy did it again. Learning that the President had been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, he snidely wired the White House: "I should like to congratulate you for the nomination. However, I have reason to believe the organization that has nominated you merely wishes you to hear of the nomination so that you can recover from the Watergate affair. My reason for holding this view is that it is very discouraging for real peacemakers in the world to hear of your nomination ... I am led to the conclusion that your nominators were not serious in their choice.

#### **JAPAN**

#### The World's Most Expensive Cup of Coffee

A notable byproduct of Japan's swift rise to economic superpower status is a mildly bizarre cult of the price tag. Some of the best customers of art galleries on Madison Avenue and the Faubourg St. Honoré these days are dealers from Tokyo or Osaka, their

pockets stuffed with yen, who are willing to pay astronomical sums for French impressionist paintings. Japanese buyers are equally conspicuous at the yearling auctions in Saratoga and Deauville, bidding handsomely for the best thoroughbreds. In fact, the Japanese seem to have supplanted the stereotype Texans as the world's most eager status seckers.

One man who has shrewdly exploited his compatriots' fixation on expensive luxuries is Keishiro Funakoshi, proprietor of the Akaneya Coffee Shop in scenic Karuizawa, a popular mountain resort 100 miles northwest of Tokyo, There, for 9,900 yen (roughly \$38), he serves what must surely be the world's most expensive cup of coffee. Funakoshi readily concedes that it is not so much the quality of his coffee (a home-blended brew of charcoal-roasted grains freshly ground for each customer) or the décor of his establishment (a narrow, dark wooden hut decorated in rustic Mingei style), as the defiantly exorbitant prices that attract hordes of tourists to his coffee shop.

People come to Karuizawa with the expectation of spending money," he says, "so why shouldn't I help them in this endeavor?" Even those who do not sample the \$38 cup of coffee-served at a special table by a kimono-clad waitress in a ritual that resembles a tea ceremony-can leave the Akaneva with the feeling of having been overcharged. A weaker brew, served in less ornate cups, costs a steep 495 yen (more than three times the standard price) when taken at the counter. That is where the majority of Funakoshi's customers sit. hoping to see someone come in and order the special \$38 cup. Hardly anyone complains about the high prices. As Funakoshi explains it: "Compared to 9,900 yen, 495 is a real bargain.



CUSTOMER SAMPLING \$38 CUP



RAQUEL TAKES A FALL

When Roquel Welch, 33, slipped and fell on the Madrid set of The Three Masketeers, grimacing from the pain, was it because she was smarting from Producer Ilya Saikind's remark, "a surface" of the pain of the pa

Author Richard Bach may be surprised to learn that his inspirational flight manual, Jonathan Livingston Seagoul, has run into flak from a Red Guard group in Fukien province. Noting the popularity of the "tasteless and absurd" book in Chiang Kai-shek's Taiwan, the group, via "Fukien Front" radio, has artacked what it calls "the Chiang gang's insidious motive in advocating the seaguld character." The motive: to persuade intellectuals to oppose Commism. "Prominent personages in the Chiang gang," noted the young Red of the propiet of the

Her blonde hair pulled straight back into a bun at the nape of her neck, Moureen Dean, 28, became familiar to millions of TV viewers as she sat stage right of husband John Dean III at the Senate Watergate hearing. Warting to avoid watergate hearing. Warting to avoid watergate hearing. Warting to avoid brown and the style to modified Bott-celli angel. Trouble is, she plans to show off her disguise on NICS Dinah Shore Show. Yet a mother hair style will then the straight of the style water and the style water the style water and the style wate

As an impoverished Memphis teenager, Singer-Composer Isaac (Hot Buttered Soul, the theme from Shaft) Hayes lived one summer in a junked car. Should the necessity arise again, Hayes, 31. has ensured that he will have all the comforts of-er-home. While seven cars, including his gold-plated 1972 Cadillac Eldorado, rest in his Memphis garages, Hayes tools around the country in his latest acquisition: a 30-ft, silver-gray Cadillac limousine that can be started by remote control in cold weather. Included in the \$36,000 price tag: a red velvet love seat, bar, refrigerator, color TV and stereo. Plus two phones and two electrically operated sun roofs. There's a closed-circuit TV intercom between front and back seats.

Even if ABC does not renew his talkshow contract at the end of the year, **Dick Cavett** is making sure that there



ISAAC HAYES SHOWS OFF HIS SUPERCAR



"MO" DEAN BEFORE ... ... AND AFTER



ND AFTER

HEPRURN TAKES TO TELEVISION



will be theatrical scoops aplenty to remember him by. Last June it was Mar-Ion Brando. In October it will be Katharine Hepburn, 63, till now adamant about "making a spectacle of myself" on TV. Agreeing only to discuss the idea of an interview, Hepburn arrived at ABC's Manhattan studios last week to look them over. Curling her lip at the "hideous" orange carpet and making sure that she would not have to change her turtleneck sweater and slacks for a "beaded gown," she threw a curve: "Oh hell, let's get it over with." Cavett had hoped for just such a break and had a camera crew on call-thus he was able to videotape a two-part interview on the spot and schedule it for release well before Hepburn's official TV debut this fall as Amanda in Tennessee Williams' The Glass Menagerie. After the taping, Hepburn gave Cavett some farewell advice: "Keep thinking. Don't solidify."

Already familiar to TV viewers as the jowly, red-headed minihuckster sell-ing Tasty Cakes, Underwood Chicken Spread and Post Raisin Bran, Moson Reese, 7, is ready for his new job as columnst on whise Chicken Stath Hear News (TIME, Aug. 20). On a solo trial, Mason showed a natural talent for interviewing his peers (the subject: Wacky Tibs week he makes his first regular appearance with a classic third-grade story: "My First Day Back at School."

The party at the Palazzo Volpi in Venice started at 11:30 pm. and if the 600 guests wanted any dinner, that was 'their problem,' said the host. There would, however, be a buffet at 4 a.m., pasphetti at 6 and pasta fagioli later on. Count Giovanni Volpi, son of Mussolini's economies minister, was giving the most brilliant international ball of the season with a guest list that included Princess Grace of Monaco, Audrey Heppburg, Christino Onessis, Andy Worhol burg, Christino Onessis, Andy Worhol

and Marits Berenson. In spite of a dawn rumor that all Italian frontiers would be closed because of the cholera outbreak, everyone seemed to have a good time. Especially Sensor Ted Kennedy's wife Joan. Roman Publicist Giorgio Pavone said she was absolutely 'the toast wife Joan. Roman with all the latin backoften evening, with all the latin backoften evening, with all the latin backoften evening with the properties of the was. Joan replied, "Oh, he's babysitting back in Hyannis Port."

The Great Howard Hughes Hoax has claimed its most pathetic victims. Nedsky, 5, and Barnaby, 3, the children of Edith and Clifford Irving. While their parents are in jail, the boys live at home with a legal guardian on the Spanish island of Ibiza. They come to the U.S. on occasional visits to see their father in the federal prison at Danbury, Conn., but are not allowed to visit Edith in the Swiss jail where she has completed six months of her two-year term. According to New York Post Reporter Sheila Moran, Nedsky is suffering from aggression and Barnaby from depression. When a baby is separated from its mother, the baby is lost, isn't he?" a psychiatrist recently asked Barnaby, "No. replied Barnaby, "the baby is dead.

While most of the folks back home were sweltering in a heat wave. America's favorite fluff-head got caught in a gust of wind straight off the steppes, or anyway at the foot of Gorky Street in Moscow, and found her umbrella abruptly demolished. Goldie Hawn had turned up to "get into some young people's heads" and find out what it would be like to be "the girl from Petrovka." That will be her next role in a movie about a Soviet Holly Golightly who falls in love with an American correspondent (Hal Holbrook). Goldie quickly became convinced that there is "no room for a free spirit" in the U.S.S.R. and flew with relief to London to prepare for the filming, to take place soon in Yugoslavia.



JOAN KENNEDY DOES VENICE



MASON REESE REPORTS



#### The Tom Sawyer of Rock

"If people want to get stoned and trip out on acid or Jesus, that's their business. But if those things don't work, I've got something that will: love, appreciation and sincerity."

Can a performer who talks like that survive for even a minute in today's pop-music miasma of drugs, decadence and dowdy religiosity? If he is Singer-Composer John Denver, 29, the answer is yes. The possessor of long blond hair and a mellifluous, if reedy, tenor voice, the wearer of gold-rimmed glasses and ping jokes with friends around a crackling campfire. Meanwhile, Denver stood at the stage apron and sang his own Rocky Mountain High:

I've seen it rainin' fire in the sky I know he'd be a poorer man It he never saw an eagle fly.

Some of the Colorado mountain folk live there because they have never known anything else. Denver lives there by choice, having seen most of the U.S. while growing up as the son of an Air Force lieutenant colonel. "I wanted to be accepted, so I worked on things that would make people like me," he says.

guest-acting stints in the U.S. on both the Owen Marshall and McCloud series, and has two specials in the works for ABC. Last week he taped a Bob Hope special for November airing.

Between bookings he lives with his wife Annie in a \$15,000,000, split-level three-bedroom house on a wooded slope near Aspen. Folks coming to call on Denver sometimes have to track him of the state of

#### Jingles into Singles

I was raised on country sunshine. I am happy with the simple things.

Millions of TV viewers would recognize this bouncy balled, sung in the buttereup-bright tones of Nashville's Dottle West, as the music for the current Coea-Cola commercial. A month is a single of the commercial of the current Coea-Cola commercial. A month is a single of the commercial of the current Coea-Cola commercial. A month is a single of a growing trend in the country music field to convert jungles into singles. Country music is not only becoming unabashedly commercial, so pursts free processing to the commercial of the co

The song from the Miller beer commercial, If You've Got the Time, has been adapted as a single by Red Steagall. Sammi Smith has recorded the Bell System's Call Me. Inspired by the Mazda car commercial, the Hummers have done Old Betsy Goes Boing, Boing.

Much of the credit, if that is the word, for the trend belongs to Songwriter Billy Davis, 38, a former singer (The Four Tops) and record executive (Chess Records) who is now a vice president and music director of Manhattan's McCann-Erickson advertising agency. Davis collaborated on the 1971 Coca-Cola commercial, which as a single, Pd Like to Teach the World to Sing, sold over a million records. He and Dottie West wrote the current Coca-Cola hit. and he and McCann-Erickson Creative Director William Backer wrote the lyrics for the Miller beer single. There is some talk of dusting off Paint the World a Rainbow, the recent Coca-Cola radio jingle he produced, as a pop entry by the Spinners. Meanwhile, advertisers are finding

that such conversions can work two ways. Country Composer Tom T. Hall's We and Jesus has recently been revised as a sales promotion song for a chemical weed preventive. The title: Me and Treflan.



Hardboiled rock critics do not exactly get mad at Denver-nobody does that—but he is so wholesome that they reach for mild epithets like "saccharine," "bland" and "decent mediocrity." He says "Yes, sir" to hotel clerks, picks litter off the sidewalk, and neither drinks nor smokes. As for his music, says Marry Travers, late of Peter, Paul and Mary, the group that had a Top Ten hit in 1969 with Denver's Leaving on a Jet Plane: "His songs are simple and hope-

Last week at the Blossom Music Center outside Cleveland, Denver drew more than 10,000 members of what one Blossom official called the "clean-shirt crowd." Although the audience ranged in age from twelve to 70. it was pre-

ful. He is a very personal, conversation-

al singer, and he has a gee-whizzy kind

of humor-which is refreshing

Such as the guitar he bought at age 13, when he found himself alone once again at a new school in Montgomery, Ala.

Denver entered Texas Tech University as an architecture major, but spent much of his time playing folk or rhythm and blues at local clubs. After 21/2 years, he pulled out for the hootenanny life of Southern California, along the way changing his name from Henry John Deutschendorf Jr. In 1965 he joined the Chad Mitchell Trio, replacing Chad Mitchell himself, who was going out on his own. With acid rock on the rise, those were hard days for folk groups, and the Mitchell Trio was already \$40,000 in the red. Long after Denver had turned solo in 1969 and signed with RCA, he was still helping to pay off that debt.

Denver has no such worries today. His last four LPs have been million-dollar sellers. Within the past year he has made six specials for BBC, lined up



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### Holland House



#### Cholera on the March

Few diseases are more feared than cholera, which in past centuries has decimated whole populations. Cholera is endemic to many Asian nations, where sanitation is poor and water supplies are contaminated. But the disease also maintains a tenuous teehold in the all, where the ceals told had risen to at least 21, and threatening other European countries as well.

Their concern is well founded, because the effects of cholera can be catastrophic. The disease is caused by comma-shaped bacteria that thrive in contaminated water supplies. The bugs do even better in the human intestine. There they multiply rapidly, triggering vomiting and devastating diarrhea that can drain off as much as 25% of the body's fluid in hours, depleting it of essential salts and causing dehydration. kidney failure and circulatory collapse. Treatment involves intensive replacement of lost fluids and infusions of salts to restore the body's water and chemical balance. It is almost always effective. But without prompt medical attention, 50% of cholera's victims die.

The current outbreak began late last month in Naples, where it afflicted 94 victims and killed at least ten. Cases of cholera cropped up in the Adriatic port of Bari. The disease erupted in Rome, and finally leaped the Tyrrhenian Sea to Sardinia. By week's end, cases had been reported in Florence and as far north as Bologna and Milas.

Health Ministry officials blamed the outbreak (at week's end it had not yet reached epidemic proportions) not on contaminated drinking water, but on shellfish. Most of the victims, they explained, had eaten mussels, which were apparently taken from polluted waters around Italy and in North Africa. To further, officials banned the sale and importation of shellfish throughout Italy and ordered large mussel beds in the Bay of Naples destroyed.

No Vaccine. In an effort to calm the jumpy public, officials ordered that streets and storefronts in Rome and Naples be washed down with disinfectant a strategy designed largely to provide psychological, not medical, relief. Vaccination centers, staffed in part by medics from the U.S. Sixth Fleet, managed to immunize at least 85% of Naples 1,278,000 people against the disease But the program failed to reassure many Italians. In Torre del Greco, a city of 83,000 on the Bay of Naples, some 500 people who could not be immunized because the vaccine supply ran out marched on the municipal building and had to be dispersed by police.

Fearing the spread of the disease, health officials in several countries began demanding that travelers returning from Italy show certificates of immunization against cholera. That action apparently is not enough to halt the march of the disease. Scattered cases have already been reported in Sweden. Britandy been reported in Sweden. Britandy the state of the state

#### The 2,000-Year-Old Woman

From the time that the body was first discovered last year, doctors in the People's Republic of China have been trying to find out what caused the death of the wife of a minor official named Li Tsang. Last week they released the results of their autopsy: Lady Li died of an apparent heart attack. Although there was nothing unusual about the cause of her death, the post-mortem examination at Hunan Medical College was somewhat out of the ordinary: Lady Li, whose body was unearthed from a tomb outside the central Chinese city of Changsha, died at the age of 50 some 2,100 years ago.

Modern medical techniques have been used many times to examine the remains of long-buried people. Studies of mummies have revealed that many ancient Egyptians had dental problems, arthritis, pneumonia and plague. Egypt's legendary Merneptah, the Pharaoh of the Hebrew Exodus, suffered body is unquestionably the best preserved ever to be subjected to a fullfledged autopsy.

the second of th

Lady Li's silk-wrapped body had been placed inside an airtight coffit that was the innermost of six boxes packed in five tons of charcoal, completely surrounded by a layer of white clay and, finally, buried under more than 60 ft. of earth. Furthermore, inside the inner eacht fluid containing mercurial conpounds that preserved body moisture and helted reard decomposition.

and neignet retard oxecomposition.

Perfect Preservation, As a result of the conscientious efforts of the Han Dynasty embalmers, Lady L1's body Dynasty embalmers, Lady L1's body too. Doctors who examined it discussed to the Control of the Control

Specialists called in from Peking,



CHINESE DOCTOR X-RAYING CORPSE OF LADYLI DURING AUTOPSY
The subject was in excellent condition.

#### MEDICINE

chemical analysis of Lady, Li's hair and itsues from her stomach, liver, muscles and bone that she had type A blood. Gynecological examination revenues are stoned to the control of the c

It took further study—and a little deductive reasoning—to determine the deductive reasoning—to determine the deductive reasoning—to determine the deductive reasoning—to determine the one of her coronary arteries was almost completely occluded by atheroselerosis. This alone, the doctors felt, was enough to kill Lady Li and, they speculate, her death was probably sudden if she had doctors reasoned, she probably would have developed bedsores. The postmern examination showed none.

#### Capsules

▶ What do seemingly fit firemen and overweight, stress-ridden executives have in common? The answer is heart disease, according to Dr. R. James Barnard of the University of California at Los Angeles. Barnard tested 100 firemen while they were exercising on a treadmill and found that 10%-the same as in a group of sedentary insurance executives-showed signs of latent coronary disease. Potential heart problems were even more obvious in a group of firemen asked to jump onto the treadmill and exercise with no prior warmup. Of 60 tested, 40, or two-thirds, showed abnormal electrocardiograms. Barnard suggests the reason for the firemen's rapid heart rates: the fire-alarm bell. Among firemen monitored for 24 hours, most of the younger men, with supposedly healthy hearts, showed great excitement and doubled heart rates when the alarm sounded. But oldtimers were not immune to the excitement syndrome either. At least 20% overreacted to the bell, their bodies releasing hormones that might contribute to heart disease. Barnard's recommendation: a fitness program for all fire fighters.

▶ Throughout history, princes and plain folk alike have searched for a true aphrodisiac, a substance to heighten sexual desire. Now researchers have found one that does just the opposite. They have developed a drug called benperidol, which, they claim, reduces or completely abolishes sexual desire. Doctors tested the drug successfully at London's Wormwood Scrubs prison, and believe it could prove valuable for treating sexual offenders. They also apparently feel that many law-abiding Britons are ready for a real version of the fictional "Anti-Sex League" in George Orwell's novel, 1984. Starting this month, they plan to market their antisex pill under the name Anquil.

#### MILESTONES

Born. To Jean-Louis Trintignant. 43, low-keyed French actor who starred in A Man and a Woman, Z. My Night at Mand's and The Conformits, and Nadine Trintignant. 38, film writer (1t Only Happers to Others) and director: their third child, first son; in Paris. Name: Vincent. His brith coincides with the première of his mother's most recently directed film, Forbidden to Know, which stars his father and features his 11-year-Jold sister Marie.

Engaged. Kathleen Kennedy. 22. oldest of the late Robert F. Kennedy's eleven children and a senior studying American history and literature at Rad-cliffe College: and David Lee Towned. 25, doctoral candidate in English and American literature at Harvard who tutored her in Southern writers. Kennedy and Townsendi are such Market Wenter and College and the College and the Southern writers. Kennedy and Townsendi are such Market Wenter and the Southern writers. Kennedy and Townsendi are such Market Wenter and ride the Mississippi for 21 days in Huck Finns style.

Morried. Patricia McBride. 30, a principal dancer with the New York City Ballet since 1961; and Jean-Pierre Bonnefous. 30, a principal with the same company since 1970 and a former star of the Paris Opera Ballet, both for the first time. McBride and Bonnefous Church of Notre Dame de La Clayette, where Bonnefous' father and grandfather were also married.

Died. Albert Nicholas, 73, one of the last and best Croole-style clarinetists from the early days of New Orleans jazz; following surgery; in Basel, Switzerland. Nicholas grew up alongside such greats as Stidney Bechet and Louis Armstrong, in whose band he later played. In the 1950s, Nicholas followed other American musicians to Europe and settled in jazz-hungry Paris, playing and touring with the Dutch Swing College Band.

Died. John Ford, 78, director of more than 100 films and winner of four Oscars (see Show Business).

Died. John Ronald Reuel Tolkien, 81, creative mythologer and author of the immensely popular *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy and *The Hobbit (see* Books).

Died. Shirali Mislimov, 168, a Caude China and the Soviet Union as the oldest man alive; in Barrava, U.S.R. Mislom alive; in Barrava, U.S.R. Mislom de existed largely on a diet of chicken broth, cheese and curded milk, is survived by his 107vear-old third wife and 219 other family members, including a grandchild ased 100.



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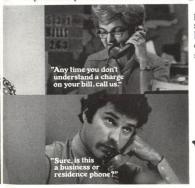
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people, we can't promise to solve every telephone problem immediately. But we can promise a service representative will try.



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#### Old Master

Orson Welles was once asked which American directors most appealed to him. "The old masters," he replied. "By which I mean John Ford, John Ford and John Ford." Ford, 78, who died of cancer on Aug. 31, was a school of maestros unto himself. Others liked typecasting: Ford preferred archetype casting. Others made films; he made epics. Others debunked the old legends; he treated them seriously. "We've had a lot of people who were supand you know damn well they weren't

But it's good for the country to have heroes to look up to." For more than 100 feature films, audiences and moviemakers looked up to the heroes of John Ford

McLAGLEN (LEFT) IN "THE INFORMER"

-and to the man himself. A native of Portland, Me., Sean O'Feeney was the youngest of 13 children. An adventurous older brother. Francis, changed his name to Ford, went West and began to direct silent two-reelers. Sean followed Francis in name

and profession. He served an apprenticeship as stunt man, grip, cameraman and finally director. At first he was merely a foreman, grinding out bathetic stories of cowpokes in leather and gals in gingham. But with The Iron Horse (1924), Ford was abruptly thrust into the front ranks of American film makers. In the tale of a son's search for his father's murderer. Ford composed a stark sagebrush Odyssey that was to echo in almost all his later work. The forces of nature and fate were given substance: the backdrop of plains, railroads and skies was as important as

With the coming of sound, Ford adopted the modern artist's essential rule: less is more. Other directors used scripts that chattered merely to fill the let the camera narrate. As a result, when and functional as bullets. Nor did Ford years he directed four classic films: The Informer, a tragedy of the Irish unrising: Stagecoach, the most emulated western of all time; The Grapes of Wrath. John Steinbeck's saga of the Okies: and Eugene O'Neill's sea drama. The Long Voyage Home

Although the walls of Ford's Hollywood house were covered with books. he liked to affect the pose of a simple man who blundered into masterpieces. His innocence was not wholly feigned: in an industry renowned for doubledealing. Ford did not know the meaning of hypocrisy. Did his heroes exalt the virtues of lovalty? So did the man

JOHN FORD IN HIS STANDARD DIRECTORIAL OUTFIT

"When in doubt, make a western."

who became known as "Pappy." He used such players as Ward Bond, Victor McLaglen and Harry Carey Jr. so frequently that they became known as the Ford Stock Company. Did his leading men exhibit an austere devotion to their wimmenfolk? The devout Catholic took particular pride in his long marriage to an Irish sweetheart. Mary Mc-Bryde Smith. Were Ford characters patriots? When World War II came along. despite a personal battle with blindness. Ford volunteered for overseas duty. He directed the Navy's film documentary unit, received a machine-gun wound at the battle of Midway, gathered evidence for the Nuremberg trials and retired with the rank of rear admiral in the Reserves

By the '50s, such credulity and fidelity seemed a knot in the American grain. To be sure, a few military heroes were still acknowledged-one of them became President. But the devaluation of the American past was under way.

directors: "When in doubt, make a western." In a time of uncertainty, he took his own prescription. His postwar horse operas-Two Rode Together, She Wore a Yellow Ribbon. The Searchers. Rio Grande-are among the best ever filmed. They were The Iron Horse all over again, informed with melancholy and immense technical prowess.

All were populated with men to match the towering structures of Monument Valley. James Stewart, Henry Fonda, Richard Widmark and, above all, Ford's personal discovery and booze companion John Wayne played exem-plars of moral rectitude. They were all

loners rather than leaders, men whose greatest act was not achievement but renunciation -of fortune, women and sometimes life itself. Ford also threw



JOHN WAYNE IN "STAGECOACH"

in some classic easterns, including Mister Roberts. The Ouiet Man and The Last Hurrah.

By his seventh decade, Pappy had vanished into his work. He answered critics with a snarl and disciples with a grunt. When Ingmar Bergman pronounced him "the best director in the world," Pappy

pretended not to hear. He was just as deaf to the industry celebrations. Ford refused to attend the Academy Award ceremonies for any of his four Oscars.

Despite the claims of a Ford cult that embraces radicals, auteurists and Richard Nixon, the master's films are less than perfect. They are marred by sentimentality, and the Stock Company often verges on caricature. Nevertheless, the epic vision is constant, and the heroic qualities-of the films and their creator-seem doubly valuable in an era of demythology. The uncritical worship of great men may be a prelude to national self-delusion. But constant debunking can lead to an equally pernicious fiction-that no man is better than his society. It is a notion that Ford disputed in every scene of every film. His overriding, obsolete and heroic testament is a single line from one of his finest westerns, The Man Who Shot Liherty Valance: "When the legend

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#### A Troubled Opening

Across the U.S. this month, the schools are opening in an atmosphere of apprehensive peace. In both North and South, integration has become a more muted issue than it was. In Pontiac, Mich., where white parents all but rioted against busing two years ago, the buses rolled without opposition. In Chicago, a proposed march at Gage Park because of interracial violence, fizzled out. "It was the quietest opening day in seven years," said one of the city's assistant superintendents.

But in other systems, the school year began in an atmosphere of tension and confrontation. In many of them money had replaced race as the hard issue. In Providence, R.I., only one of the city's 1.350 teachers showed up for work and 23,000 students were told to stay home. In Detroit, teachers picketed as supervisors and administrators tried to keep schools open for 280,000 pupils. More than 20,000 San Francisco pupils were left to make their own way to school when 230 bus drivers went on strike. And in Memphis, it took a federal court order to get the city to supply enough gas to run the 163 buses needed for its expanded desegregation plan.

The incidents reflected a variety of troubles that continue to plague American schools. Among them

INFLATION. The most pervasive educational problem in the U.S. has become sheer economics. Inflation and rising prices have upset school budgets as much as they have disturbed household finances. Such essentials as pencils and paper have soared in price. Standard elementary school pencils cost 90¢ per gross four years ago; now they are \$2.25. Students everywhere will be getting more macaroni and cheese and less

meat in their school lunches now, and most will be paying more for them (up from an average of 40e to 50e this fall). The Hauppauge school system on Long Island will pay 25% more for fuel oil this year, but willingly signed a contract with a supplier who at least promised to keep the school tanks full despite a projected winter shortage.

One serious consequence of inflation has been a cutback in the so-called "luxuries" that many educators feel are far from dispensable. In Youngstown, Ohio, striking teachers are seeking, as well as more money, the reinstatement of art and music teachers jettisoned in an economy drive. Largely because of cuts in federal funding, many schools are not hiring the aides who had been helping slow learners and other problem students.

TEACHER MILITANCY. Inflation has added to teacher agitation as spiraling living costs have negated salary increases. Beginning with a one-day walkout in August in Houston, teachers have struck in 86 communities across the country. In other cities, contracts were signed after marathon nepotiations that ended just hours before classes began.

CRIME. Violence and vandalism have become a bleak, persistent expectation in urban school systems. In Los Angeles, where 66,000 broken windows, arson, and other vandalism cost the school system \$2.5 million last year, five German shepherds have been added to the nighttime security patrol. New York City will spend some \$5,000,000 this year for alarm systems, closed circuit television and other devices to improve security in its schools.

BUSING. Although many parents and educators still consider busing a workable approach to desegregation, a number of minority spokesmen are joining whites in opposing it. Denver superintendent Louis Kishkunas was recently greeted by rocks, bottles and screaming taunts from Chicano activists, who demanded Spanish history and language courses and Chicano teachers, rather than busing

In many cities, busing has long since spurred a white flight to the suburbs or to private schools that is making busing ineffectual for integration. Enrollment in Memphis has gone from half-Richmond's schools, now in their third year of massive busing, are 72% black and Atlanta's 80%

SCHOOL FINANCING. Many exswer to the segregation and poverty of inner-city schools may lie not in busing but in broader-based school systems encompassing the surrounding suburbs. But such systems would require basic The Supreme Court declared last spring (in San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez) that the current property tax system, ensuring quality education for the rich and poor education for the impoverished, is constitutional. Even so, many educators and taxpayers agree with Justice Potter Stewart that it is "chaotic and unjust.

finance schools has become perhaps the central problem of American public education. Most public school systems still receive the bulk of their support from local property taxes, but change is in the air. The New Jersey Supreme Court has given that state until the end of 1974 to devise a more equitable system than reliance on such taxes, and a tax-reform package will be on the ballot in the state of Washington this fall. New Hampshire will experiment on a small scale with a voucher system that its support-

L.A. GUARD DOG

CHILDREN RIDING PACKED SCHOOL BUS ON OPENING DAY IN MEMPHIS





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#### EDUCATION

ers hope to put into effect throughout the state next year. The system will enable parents to send their children to private schools or to some public schools outside their own district.

It may be that Minnesota has found the most workshbe solution. Through substantial increases in taxes on liquor, cigarettes and corporate and personal incomes, the state's contribution to the cost of running the schools has been increased from 43% to 70% of the total. By 1979, spending for each pupil's education will be virtually the same throughout the state.

#### **Finding Grants**

Seeking a grant can be an arduous an ime-consuming task. Two young Chicago women have now simplified the process by establishing Funding Sources Clearinghouse Inc. (FSC), the nation's first computerized data service that attempts to match the grant seeker with the grant maker.

"People who are looking for money have certain needs, and people who are giving away money have certain crite-ria," asys 25-yea-old Mary Beth Shea, assistant director and co-founder of the FSC. "The problem is that there are so many grant programs covering all kinds of fields." The Clearinghouse claims to keep track of some 50,000 public and private grant programs in the U.S.

Founded in 1971 by Miss Shea and Mary Emmons, 29, the Clearinghouse is a nonprofit, tax-exempt organization that limits its services to other nonprofit organizations and institutions. In embership, now at 300, includes colleges, hospitals, private schools, settlement houses and environmental groups. The Clearinghouse does not serve includes of the control of the c

A fee of \$250 entitles each client to a complete report on every potential funding prospect in the FSC data bank, as well as biographical profiles of foundation officers. Members also receive a monthly news digest—Grants Daily Monitor—providing information on new grant programs.

FSC collects information on private foundations from the Internal Revenue Service. (Foundations are required under a 1969 tax reform law to make public all financial data.) It costs the Clearinghouse \$2,200 a year to get the IRS data.

The idea of establishing the Clearinghouse came when Miss Shea, who
was working on an independent adulteducation project, and Mrs. Emmons.
Start teachers, found that they were
both looking for the same kind of funding. "We reviewed a lot of information
sources." Mrs. Emmons recalls. "Ninety-nine percent of what we discovered
when the present of what we discovered
but would benefit someone else."

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CREWMEN SLEEPING ON NUCLEAR SUB

#### The Limits of Astronauts

As the Skylab astronauts completed their 43rd day in space at week's end, they were still healthy and cheerful. Officials were elated. If the astronauts remained in good health and readjusted well to the earth's gravity on their return, said NASA Administrator James Fletcher, then "we've come a long way toward proving that man can physically endure even the projected two-year Mars mission. But one group of experts remained doubtful about the prospects for longer manned flights. They were NASA's Navy consultants, who have spent years studying the psychological effects of lengthy confinement on U.S. nuclear-submarine crews. If man remains in space much longer than the 59 days that the astronauts are scheduled to spend aboard Skylab, the Navy psychologists told TIME correspondents last week, he may well reach the limits of his ability to endure isolation from the sights and sounds of his normal world

Shrimp Noises. Even in a craft as large as Skylah, the Nay consultants say, astronauts feel the same "stimulus impoverishment" as submariners. Consciously and unconsciously, they miss such familiar sights as trees, animals and sunrises. "There is nothing that lives or grows." say submarine Medical Officer William Tarsey. "It is all flashing lights, air conditioning and bells. You lowe your grasp on the real world." One some store is the support of the sons is that sailors vide for space in the sonar room to hear the mating calls of whales or swimming noises of shring.

Sub crews also suffer from severe paranoia. Constantly aware of the Thresher and Scorpion disasters, they sometimes become obsessed by the danger of the crushing pressure of the sea around them; when that happens, submariners often provid about the craft

hunting for leaks in the 6-in.-thick steel hull. Crewmen also begin to worry inordinately about friends and relatives on shore. The Navy tries to soothe their fears with "familygrams"-radioed messages received when the sub surfaces. But that strategy sometimes backfires. One man learned halfway through a cruise that his six-year-old son had been seriously injured in a car accident; he had to be sedated until he reached shore. On the other hand, word that his four-year-old son had been run over was withheld from another submariner; he was so enraged when he finally learned about the accident that he threatened to kill a Navy officer

Soon after their voyage begins more than 50% of submarines being sleeping from twelve to 16 hours a day—simply to escape boredom. At the same time, sexual frustrations begin to increase. X-rated movies attract capacity crowds, and "crotch novels" pass quickly from hand to hand. Says Psychologist Benjamin Weybrew of the Naval Submarine Medical Center in Groton. Com: "The pronographic of the proposer Some between the proposer Some beat submarine to help alleviate tension.

Navy psychologists also note that submarines tend to "burn out" during a four-year hitch—although they make only two cruises (each lasting two or three months at the longest a year, only 20% sign up for more. The Navy experts have doubts that the submarine crews could endure missions of much longer than three months without suffering serious psychological difficulties.

Still, these apparent limitations may not apply as fully to spaceflight. In the first place, a spacecraft has an all-important window, which Skylab Astronaut Pete Conrad singled out for praise after his 28-day mission; through it, the astronauts can see familiar constellations and look back at the earth. Then there is the possibility that long-distance flights may include women in the crew. Finally, and perhaps most important, the astronauts, unlike submariners bound by orders for radio silence, are able to talk freely with earthlings. "The fact that astronauts can communicate with the outside world," says Dr. Weybrew, "may be what holds them together in the long run.

#### Talking with Hands

In the English-speaking world, to talk with one's hands is a sign of poor breeding. For Arabs of all social levels, however, gestures are an indispensable part of any conversation. "To tie an Arab's hands while he is speaking." writes Robert A. Barakat in the Journal of Popular Culture. "is tantamount to tying his tongue." To prove his point,

Barakat, an anthropologist at Newfoundland's Memorial University, recently gathered a dictionary of gestures from throughout the Arab world and was able to give specific definitions to no fewer than 247.

Although the majority of the gestures are obscene, many serve to convey respectable and useful information. If, for instance, a man in Saud Arabia kisses the top of another man's head, if the kisses the top of another man's head, if the other Arab countries, to flick the right humbnail against the front teeth means the gesturer has no money or only a liftle. Bedouins touch their noses three times to show frendship In Llabya, it is continuary for men to twist the lips of the properties of the state of the state of the speaking to beautiful women.

Body Language. Many of the gestures collected by Barakat are tacit tools of fliration. Northern Syrians blow smoke in a woman's face to show that they desire her. In Lebanon, the same message is conveyed by punching the left palm with a closed right fist.

All Arabs, according to Barakat, share a certain basic vocabulary of body language. They stand close together and frequently touch each other in a conversation, and they look each other in the eye constantly, instead of letting their gaze drift to the side as Americans do. Gesturing is done with the right hand, not the "unclean" let.

While Arabs also employ some of the same gestures as Americans—they tease one another by sticking out their longues—a few crucial gestures mean diametrically opposite things in the two cultures. When Arabs shake their heads cultures. When Arabs shake their heads to the control of the contro

BARAKAT MAKES ARAB CUCKOLD SIGN



#### BEHAVIOR

of his Arab students left for a trip to England, the teacher suggested that the young man look up his wife while he was there. The student did, and proceeded to have an affair with the lonely woman. On returning home for a visit, the Englishman asked his wife if the Arab had paid a call. Reacting guiltily. the wife denied having met the student -by snapping her head upward and clicking her tongue.

#### Blue Is Beautiful

Psychologists and toy manufacturers have between them devised a bewildering variety of educational toys for the crib and playroom. But the way to fire a youngster's intelligence and imagination, according to a three-year study recently finished in Germany, is to put him in a large, low-ceilinged room painted in his favorite color.

Colors, particularly, have "a decisive influence on the child's mental performance," says Henner Ertel, director of Munich's Gesellschaft für Rationelle Psychologie, where researchers have been studying the impact of environment on mental growth since 1970. Indeed Ertel and his co-workers found that the proper selection of colors could instantly raise the average IQs of a random sample of 473 children by twelve points. This was accomplished merely by testing the children in rooms that were painted light blue, yellow, yellowgreen or orange-colors the children said they thought were "beautiful. Rooms painted with "ugly" colors

-white, black and brown-had a negative effect, causing an average drop of 14 IQ points among children who played in them. Researchers found that the popular colors also stimulated alertness and creativity; white, black and brown playrooms made children duller.

Carrying their studies further, the Munich researchers observed two roups in nine color-coordinated rooms. During the same period, a separate control group played in a conventional kindergarten. After six months, the experimental groups, who had played in "beautifully" colored rooms with "beautifully" colored building blocks, had outstripped the controls by an average of 15 IQ points, even though the children in the control group had started out with slightly higher intelligence scores. After 18 months the experimental group was 25 points ahead

The methodical institute researchers even claim to have measured the percentage of improvement that beautiful colors caused in the children's social behavior. In the orange room they found that the positive social reactions (friendly words, smiles) increased 53% and that negative reactions (irritable,

hostile ones) declined 12% The Munich group also explored the influence that the size of a room had on child development. The children tested by the psychologists expressed a strong preference for play areas much larger than anyone had expected, and 90% were not completely satisfied until they were allowed at least 77 sq. yds. each. As a result, the Munich institute has developed its minimum play-space requirements; it now recommends space ranging from 3.6 sq. yds. for infants under two years to 24 sq. yds. for those between seven and nine. In smaller spaces children's mental performance and social behavior deteriorate.

Primary Instinct. One other conclusion of the Munich group is that children prefer ceilings less than 7 ft. high. "It's almost a primary instinct," ex-plains Ertel. "They want to explore their environment through touching. In the kindergarten experiment, the first thing the children did every morning was pile up the blocks so that they could climb up and reach the ceiling.

Looking for other ways to stimulate the learning process of babies, Ertel's team designed a Plexiglas crib. Here, too, according to the institute, the results were remarkable. The 38 infants who were raised in the transparent cribs were better able to see what was going on around them and to interact with it. Their mental development was remarkably faster than that of a control group. At 18 months, children in the experimental group were measurably more intelligent than two-year-olds who had been confined to traditional cribs.

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CATERPILLAR

"But it can't meet today's needs."





The year was 1957. The problem was the same throughout the nation. People who needed hospital and medical insur-

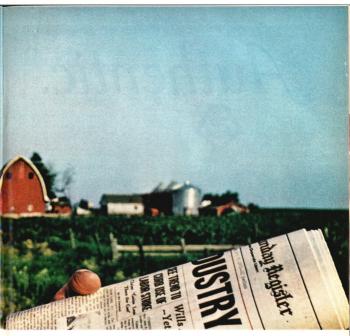
For years, health insurance wasn't ance the most, people 65 and over, were the very available to those who needed it most. least available

everywhere. Everywhere, but Iowa.

Beccuse there, in the September 8, 1957 edition of the Des Moines Sunday Register, Continental Casualty Company, or member company of CNA/insurance, placed Until that day CNA and ord. The headlinel "Now! A Plan That Pays Hospital lills for Anyone 55 and Over ...! No medical exam! No made news in lowa-health questions! Nothing like it ever before!" Two days loter, the Register's editorial page commented,

"An interesting experiment is starting in Iowa. The Continental Casualty Company of Chicago, Ill., announced... that it would provide health insurance protection for elderly

CNA/insurance 310 S. Michigan Ave. Chicago, Illinois 60604, Continental Casualty Co., American Casualty Co., National Fire Insurance Co. of Hartford,



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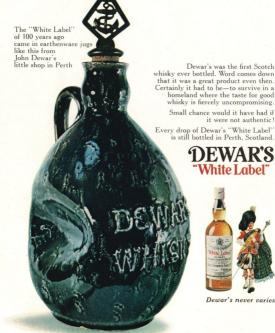
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The facts in this advertisement have been authenticated by the management of John Dewar & Sons, Ltd., Perth, Scotland.

#### In the Bull's-Eye

John Kennedy once said that the news conference puts "the President in the bull's-eye." Richard Nixon so thoroughly agrees that he has held fewer news sessions than any of his recent predecessors. Now when he is close to the nadir of his popularity as President, Nixon is not only braving the arrows but defly turning news conferences to his advantage.

The process is hardly painless. At San Clemente three weeks ago, when he faced newsmen for the first time in five months, the President was visibly tense as he underwent unusually harsh questioning (TIME, Sept. 3). But Nixon and his aides felt that the televised session had on balance conveyed so favor-sion had on balance conveyed so favor-

elicit a prompt follow-up question. In large press conferences, however, immediate follow-up is the exception rather than the rule. When Nixon was unresponsive to a question about the Agnew case, the next reporter changed the subject to oil and the Middle East. A second Agnew question doubtless would have brought out another version of a "No comment."

There has always been dissatisfaction about the zigzag quality of prestion about the zigzag quality of presidential press conferences. Recently some of the correspondents have tried to put more follow-up questions. Last week Dan Rather of Cins stuck to the subject that ABC's Tom Jarriel had raised about release of the Watergate tapes. Yet the second question produced no really fresh information; the Pres-

to adopt any regularized arrangement. Still, the prospect now is for some increase in frequency, if only because Nixon seems to think that the time is ripe to challenge the press's credibility again. In both recent conferences, he repeatedly needled the news media, implying that journalists were to blame for some, if not all, of his troubles His cracks have developed a pattern; he gets across the idea that journalists are beastly by saying that they are entitled to be so. Last week, when asked about public confidence in him, he put part of the blame on four months of prime-time "leers and sneers of commentators -which is their perfect right." How to rebuild confidence? By action, not words, he replied: "What the President says will not restore it. And what you la-











THE VARIED FACES OF PRESIDENT RICHARDNIXON DURING HIS PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE WHITE HOUSE Immediate follow-up is the exception rather than the rule.

able an impression to the public that they decided to try another one last week. This time, from Nixon's viewpoint, the results were even better. He skillfully evaded some of the tougher questions, gave informative answers when it suited him, and showed a certain pleasure in once more having the press to kick around.

Together, the two bristling encounters demonstrated how easily a President can control such meetings. They also underscored once again the flaws of the format. Like many skilled public men, Nixon can turn a hostile question into an opportunity to score points. For instance, when he was asked last week why White House statements conflicted concerning expenditures on his homes in San Clemente and Key Biscayne, Nixon avoided a direct answer Instead he turned the question around. arguing that Government expenditures on San Clemente really reduced the property's value because certain Secret Service facilities infringed on the

In an interview under less pressure, that kind of evasion would normally

t ident is an expert at avoiding the sharp t point of a query.

In many cases, the only value of a

follow-up after an evasive answer is to underscore the evasion. In 30 or 45 minutes, a press conference necessarily covers some ground superficially while omitting other important areas. In any event, no one knows whom the President will recognize next. Dozens of reporters might be eager to stick to one subject while the President's finger points to someone else. Rather acknowledges complaints that "questions are not put as logically in sequence as a prosecuting attorney would put them. But I've resisted any move to prearrange questions. I think reporters cherish their independence above all.

Long Log. One solution would be to have some press conferences devoted to a single subject; last month's session at San Clemente was virtually that, but only because of Watergate and the long lag between meetings. Regularly scheduled sessions—say two a month—would also relieve the pressure to gallop to all points of the compass.

Of course, the President is unlikely

dies and gentlemen say will certainly not restore it." In something of an overstrement, he said that charges of impropriety in the financing of San Clemente were "carried, usually, in eightcolumn heads in most of the papers of this country," while the "retractions ended back up with the corset ads, for the most part."

Despite Nixon's anti-press thrusts and the imperfections of the format, the press conference is still of great value. Aside from the election campaign and the State of the Union message, nothing in the American system requires the President to report to the public directly. A press conference gives the electorate a chance to see how the Chief Executive responds to-or dodges-at least some of the moment's major issues. The fact that the President can and usually does exercise a great deal of control over these exchanges is hardly new. Calvin Coolidge, who insisted on getting written questions in advance, found one day that the reporters had all sent in the same tough query. He countered by making up a question to his liking and then answered it.



ARTIST & MODEL: PAINTER ELLSWORTH KELLY WITH LEAF

#### Classic Sleeper

It may be coarse to call Ellsworth Kelly, whose excellent retrospective opens the new season at New York's Museum of Modern Art, a sleeper; but it has a degree of truth. Nearly 20 years have gone by since this quiet, theoryshy artist came back from Paris and began turning out his spare, immaculately drafted abstractions amid the fulgid polemics of the New York scene. They did not "belong" in New York. with the splashy gesture and the stuffed angora goat; and except for the work of one or two painters like Kelly's friend Jack Youngerman, there is not much context for them even today. Since then. orthodoxies have spawned and died in shoals: but though Kelly's work anticipated by years many of their salient features (the minimal look, the use of chance in design, the shaped canvas, the horizontal-stripe picture), he has never been part of a "movement." At 50, painting and sculpting on his Hudson Valley farm, Kelly remains a loner, both in temperament and in style. His pictorial intellect-graceful, aristocratic, verging on the absolutist but never programmed-is far removed from the pugnacious limit-pushing and problemsolving of most advanced New York art. Of all living American painters, figurative or abstract, Kelly emerges closest to the spirit of classicism.

The art world tends to pay its dues in a rush, and so it has done with Kelly. The MOMA show is accompanied by two new books on him. One text, by Art-forum Editor John Coplans, is well-night menterable and reads as though creakily translated from German Hough it is relied to the control of t

tions should be but rarely are—warm and scholarly, steadily focused on Kelly's own experiences and their growth into form, and mercifully free from the imbricated jargon of formalist criticism.

The source of Kelly's work is, however obliquely, the world of actuality. of things. In 1949, as a G.I. Bill student in Paris (where he enrolled at that crowded and fusty mill, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts), Kelly was browsing through an exhibition at the Musée d'Art Moderne. It bored him: "I noticed that the large windows between the paintings interested me more than the art exhibited." Afterward he made a construction, almost a scale model, of one of these windows, its glass panes and metal frame mocked up in canvas and wood. "From then on," he told Coplans, "painting as I had known it was finished for me. Everywhere I looked, everything I saw, became something to be made, and it had to be made exactly as it was, with nothing added. I could take from everything; it all belonged to me: a glass roof of a factory with its broken and patched panes, lines of a road map, the shape of a scarf on a woman's head, a fragment of Le Corbusier's Swiss pavilion, a corner of a Braque painting, paper fragments in the street."

Yankee Monet. The world became permeable Patterns, area, straight lines, enclosures and tangencies now became the syntax of Kelly's formal language, in painting as in sculpture. He did not, in short, start from geometry. Thus Relief with Blue. 1950, whose flaring curves channel the eye into a pale blue slot like a narrow doorway, was suggested by the drapper of a set for Jean-Louis Barrault's production of Hamiltonian and the start of the star

staircase of a friend's villa near Meschers in western France, whose changes he recorded hour by hour, like some Yankee Monet laboring at the havstack. Sometimes he would cut up a drawing into rectangles and shuffle them about: Meschers, 1951, was one result. Originally a scene of green pine trees and blue sea, it became a brisk mosaic of slender bladelike forms set with cunning ambiguity between figure and field, in a matrix of dark ultramarine. A very "European" painting in its reference to the sharp edges and rich color of Matisse's paper cutouts, it is less so in its novel use of concealed chance.

Relief with Blue was, as Goossen oints out, a predictive work. Its curves, both supple and spare, would become one of the marks of Kelly's style. The blue "door" in the middle-physically enclosed by the lip of white relief around it-would, in a different way, become another motif. Kelly's mature painting is very much a matter of cut and constriction. Shape burgeons across the canvas, brushing against its edges in such a way that within the bald format there is no dead space. Kelly's paintings are pervaded by a subtly indicated force, a sense of form working under confinement at several points above normal pressure. That Kelly is a most able draftsman can easily be seen from his pencil drawings of leaves and fruit-but in the abstract mode, he draws like a virtuoso. The decisiveness of the arc in Blue Curve, V, 1973, is (when seen in its large, actual size-it is about 6 ft. by 9 ft.) breathtaking: no other line, one senses, could have contained the buoyant, intrusive swell of the blue with such steely grace, or struck such a happy proportion with the white. Only when Kelly denies his work this imagery of encounter and compression does it lean to dullness, as in a set of large rectangular panels, each painted one flat primary color, which have the look of august and boring decoration and cannot hold the eve.

"Cutting directly into color," Ma-tisse wrote in 1947, "reminds me of a sculptor's carving into stone." Kelly's work, both as painter and as sculptor, now seems like a reverberation of that remark: the colors he uses-red, green, yellow, blue, plus black and white-are more object than atmosphere. Their presence is dense, their shape irrevocable. This, coupled with the extreme deliberation with which he shaves his contours, makes for very responsible painting. The weight of each decision, every nick and turn of shape, comes to resemble a moral choice. And so Kelly comes out of this show as one of the few artists in America to preserve, almost as subject matter, the seriousness of painting: the conviction that, despite all the trivialization it has undergone, art really matters. Robert Hughes



Ellsworth Kelly's "Meschers" (1951)



"Relief with Blue" (1950)



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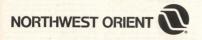
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Cleveland Chicago	11:10 am DC-10 10:00 am**	San Francisco	1:35 pm <b>747</b> 10:00 am <b>747</b>	nonoralu	5:00 pm <b>747</b>



# **ORIENT EXPRESS**

Why settle for less.

# The Graying of America

In the 1960s the torch was passed from age to youth, but in the 1970s the torch is being handed back again. Youth -the obsession of a few years ago, the hope of some, the fear of others -no longer makes great waves. While the 1969 rock festival at Woodstock was hailed as an epic event of liberated youth, the even bigger 1973 festival at Watkins Glen was considered a casual outing. Between these two festivals youth somehow lost its mystique. Two years ago, Sociologist John Seeley wrote: "The young are seemingly America's Number One love, Number One enemy, Number One public problem and Number One private preoccupation." Today the young would rank way down on almost anybody's list of preoccupations

The radical young firebrands of the 606—the Mark Rudds, Mario Savios. Jerry Rubins, Tom Haydens—have all but dropped out of sight. Today's heroes have left their youth a long way behind them. Henry Kissinger (age 50) and Buckminster Fuller (78), Margaret Sirica (69) and Marker (Sirica (69) and Walter Cronkite (56) look and act their age. Surely no one has done more for age than 76-year-

is appropriately titled Six Months with an Older Woman—and they are comically instructive months. One of the best of the recent books on older people, Nobody Ever Died of Old Age. was written by 34-year-old Sharon Curtin, a 50s radical.

a OBF TOURAIN out films of the '60s carected to the grossest fantasies of the times. In Wild in the Streets. a 19-year-55s in concentration camps. In II, rebel students gun down parents and teachers for no apparent reason. Today words and the content of the sort that were made after the generates the cooled, they are ho long-ee hos office.

Current films seem to be putting youth back in its place. In his past roles. Steve McQueen often played the rebel eagainst home, hearth or system. But in Justice Bonner he is a dutiful son who finally wins enough money to send his pa to his dreamland, Australia. In The Emperor of the North Pole Lee Marvins trailed by a brash youth who wans to replace him a duplet by the pole of the pole



GROUP OF YOUTHS HUDDLED IN THE RAI

young people than in the 1960. In that decade, as a result of the post-World Value of the post-World Value of the 1960 of the

The overemphasis on youth in the 1960s was also part of the social dislocations of the time. If anything aroused generational solidarity, it was the Viet Nam War. To many observers, youth's almost unanimous opposition to the war made all young people seem alike. They appeared to speak with one magisterial voice, leading sympathizers to generalize: "They have something to tell us. We should listen." On most issues, in fact, youth spoke with as many voices as any other group, but the discords were drowned out in the uproar over war and generation gap. Class, ethnic and geographical differences went largely unexamined. When kids battled cops in the '60s, it was overlooked that the cops were often the same age as the kids. Once the war wound down, the convenient abstraction, youth, began to crumble.

The young side did not ebb with the happing the landscape. A mere glimpse of the hair and clothing styles of Wall Street commuters is enough to convince anyone that the youth impact of the '6fs was at least skin deep. And deeper. The voting age was lowered from 21 to 18, the draft was abolished, and students were given places of resonshibity in college administra-



MARGARET MEAD



BUCKMINSTER FULLER



DOROTHY DAY

old Sam Ervin, whose Watergate hearings are a parable of the times. One by one, bright young men who had gone sartay filled before the aged partarach to do penance and seek absolution. Nor was Ervin averse to providing them with a few homilies on conduct. Ervin embath is Anosh who to cut it." says Atlanta Psychiatrist Alfred Messer. Teagaers have blossomed out in Sam Ervin T shirts, and Relling Stone has put his jowly face on the cover.

Youth is not making the scene the way it used to. The gusher of books and articles glorifying the young has largely dried up, and younger people are writing more sympathetically about their elders. David Kaufelt's first novel

"Kid, you got no class, you'll never make it!" Television, too, has deflated the pre-

Today's more sober appraisal of youth is based partly on a striking demographic fact: America is growing older. There are proportionately fewer

#### TIME ESSAY



AT 1969 WOODSTOCK FESTIVAL

tions. Age has paid another compliment to youth in taking over some of its protest tactics. People over 65, in particular, are organizing to better their lot.

When the war of the generations was at its most virulent, apocalyptic commentators thought that it might go no forever or end in victory for one side or the other. Perhaps America is for the other. Perhaps America is for the other were long. Harvard Sociological control of the other perhaps and the other pe

As Patrick Movnihan points out in The Public Interest, youth of the 1960s was highly isolated from the rest of society. And in isolation is bred arrogance and unworldliness. Age, on the other hand, did not have the benefit of easy contact with youth. There was a tendency either to defect rather mindlessly to youth, accepting uncritically an alteration of values, or to develop a siege mentality and fear and resent one's own children. It was all too easy, depending on one's point of view, to hold youth responsible for what was good in society or to blame it for what was bad. In this way, one could avoid the complexities and ambiguities of a genuine analysis of American life. Historian Eric Goldman expects the 1970s to be a "period of re-emerging consensus, when the young will not be so critical of the old and when the old will not be so rigidly protective of their values." That may be a somewhat sunny view of a decade that could produce almost anything -and probably will. But at least one fissure in American life has been partly patched, which shows that it can be ■ Edwin Warner

She Needs Your Love...



Little Rosetta doesn't know that her future hangs in the balance . . . her father has just been killed in an accident, her mother cannot earn enough to feed a large family.

not earn enough to feed a large family.

Before long her big smile will be lost as she searches for food, shivers without warm clothing, unable to even write her own name, trapped for life in a crowded slum in Rio de Janeiro. Brazil

We must enroll her in our Family Helper Project immediately, so she can stay with her mother, yet receive the assistance and education that will make her childhood happy—and her future hopeful.

happy—and her future hopeful.

How can you sponsor a child like
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Here are some answers to your questions:
Q. What does it cost to sponsor a child?

Q. What does it cost to sponsor a child?
A. Only \$12 per month. (Your gifts are tax deductible.)
Q. May I choose the child I wish to help?
A. You may indicate your preference of

A. You may indicate your preference of boy or girl, age, and country. Many sponsors allow us to select a child from our emergency list. Q. Will I receive a photograph of my child? A. Yes, and with the photograph will

come a case history plus a description of the home or project where your child receives help. Q. How long does it take before I learn about the child assigned to me? A. You

about the child assigned to me? A. You will receive your Personal Sponsor Folder in about two weeks, giving you complete information about the child you will be helping. Q. May I write to my child? A. Yes. In fact, your child will write to you a few

weeks after you become a sponsor. Your letters are translated by one of our workers overseas. You receive your child's original letter, plus an English translation, direct

from the home or project overseas.

Q. How long has CCF been helping children? A. Since 1938.

Q. Is CCF registered with any government agency? A. Yes, CCF is registered with the U.S. State Department's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, holding Registration No. 080,

Q. Are all the children in orphanages? A. No, some live with widowed mothers, and through CCF Family Helper Projects they are enabled to stay at home, rather than enter an orphanage. CCF has homes for the blind, abandoned babies homes, day care nurseries, health homes, vocational training centers, and many other types of projects.

Q. Who owns and operates CCF? A. Christian Children's Fund is an independent, non-profit organization, regulated by a national Board of Directors, CCF coperates with both church and government agencies, but is completely independent.

Q. Who supervises the work overseas? A. Regional offices are staffed with both Americans and nationals. Caseworkers, orphanage superintendents, housemothers, and other personnel must meet high professional standards—plus have a deep love

Q. How do you keep track of all the children and sponsors? A. Through our IBM date processing equipment, we maintain complete information on every child receiving assistance and the sponsor who provides the gifts.

Sponsors urgently needed this month for children in: India, Brazil, Philippines, Indonesia and Guatemala. (Or let us select a child for you from our emergency list.)

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## Making Magic with a Funny Face

When Lauren Hutton started displaying herself for pay seven years ago, the ul timate fashion model was Veruschka, who was as tall as a basketball player. thin as an eyebrow pencil and mysterious as an Ingmar Bergman heroine. By those standards Hutton seemed to be in the wrong game. She is only 5 ft. 71/2 in .- slightly below average for a mannequin. Worse, by her own rather exaggerated reckoning, she has a "lopsided face, crossed eyes, a bumpy nose, and a Huckleberry Finn gap between my front teeth." When Photographer Richard Avedon first saw her, he wrote her off as not having enough "intensity." He thought she was too much like cessful campaign around Suzy Parker. For Ultima II, his high-priced line, he also wanted someone special.

 her an escort for the senior prom. She wore blue jeans all through high school, tossing a dress over them to get around the anti-dungaree regulations. "I looked like a drag queen," she recalls.

Between the times she dropped out of two colleges—the University of Southern Florida and then Sophie New-combe in New Orleans—she came to New York in 1964 looking for a job. She landed one—as a Playboy Bunny. "I was allways afraid of being fired for having my ears on wrong. It was all so dopey—like Girl Scout camp."

Hutton's start in modeling was almost accidental. She was in New York, intending to leave for Africa on a whim, when she answered an ad for a house model at Christian Dior's salon. "I conned them into thinking I



HUTTON WITH DIRECTOR KAREL REISZ & CO-STAR JAMES CAAN ON SET OF "THE GAMBLER" IN NEW YORK

"a Florida type on water skis-just another pretty girl."

Hutton, now 28, still looks orangepitice wholesome, and her funny flaws remain. Tastes change, however, and Hutton has become modeling's new superstar. Her 19th Fogue cover will apund the superstar her 19th Fogue cover will soon. Cavett, Griffin and Sally Quinn shows. Recently she got one of her profession's great plums by signing to appear in all magazine and TV ads for the property of the superstance of the best work of the superstance of the superstance line. That two-year contract alone will bring her about \$400,000.

What makes any face so magically salable? Hutton herself is not sure: "There is no work anybody does to justify such enormous sums. But that is the situation I am in, right or wrong." The negotiations with Revson took months. Hutton recalls that "he sobbed, be gasped, he clutched his chest." In the end he also met her price. Revson, charies and the source of the

 ty despite isolated features not in themselves beautiful."

Avedon believes that "all the great models are exceptions to the rule Twiggwas too small, Parker too tall, Veruschka too eccentric, Jean Shrimpton too vacuous. Lauren is too ordinary." Vogue Editor in Chief Grace Mirabella says: "Year after year she gets better looking. It's the mood of the girl that comes through. She is a direct, strong, intelligent, straight woman. There's nothing chichi."
Hutton's background apparently

Hutton's background apparently immunized be against chickiness. Born in Charleston, S.C., rearred in southern tomboy's existence. She learned woods-manship, fishing and baby-alligator trapping from her stepfather, Jack Hall. (Hutton is the name of her real father, who died after her parents separated. Lauren she borrowed from Bizall.) A carrylly, skinny girl whom the kité called first pennies selling worms to fishermen. It took a matchnaking teacher to get

had modeled before," she says, "I just watched the other girls do their pir-ouettes and imitated them." The job was hers—at 550 a week. Not every-body was so cooperative, however. When she tried to find a modelling agency to handle her, they all turned her down. Finally, in 1966, she found one down. Finally, in 1966, she found one found from the find that the me if I got my teeth and nose fixed. I said I would when I had the money, but I figured it might take me a while to get around to it—if ever." That time never came. That gapless smile in ads is not a sign of capitulation. It is a result of a tiny false capitulation. It is a result of a tiny false

Clockwise from top left: at Richard Avedon's studio, Hutton mugs under favorite hat; has her hair arranged between shots; samples watermelon on street near her Greenwich Village home; wears silver fox and sneakers for ad that will not show her feet.





#### MODERN LIVING

tooth Hutton inserts when working. "You can teach a person how to make up, lose weight, stand, work be fore a camera, but you can't impart that special instinct a great model has," says Eldene Ford of her longtime protégée. Diana Viceland, onetime editor of Yogow, spotted it early in the garne. Veredinad told the then second-string model: "You have presence." That appraisal landed Hutton on Vreeland's pricture pages, and on the pages of many pricture pages, and on the pages of many

other magazines from then on At Richard Avedon's spartanly white studio on the East Side of Manhattan, that presence is quite evident. Hutton is the calm center of the storm of activity swirling around her. As she lounges on a sofa in her slinky redsequined snakeskin dress. Hairdresser Ara Gallant deftly recombs her honeyblonde hair for the umpteenth time. China Machado, the stylist, dollies in to arrange the folds of a scarf with the care of Michelangelo planning the folds on the Pietà. Sitting immobile for hours at a time has its problems: "My muscles begin to shake after a while. Sometimes the tears start to flow from pain. and we have to airbrush them out of the picture." Such discomfort, of course. cannot be allowed into the photographs.

"You must create a mood, an ambience," says Hutton, Wrapped in a scruffy blue towel, preparing for a session, she takes extreme pains to transform her face with makeup—glopping a brownish base on her neck to create "shadows," penciling in an outline around the lips to make them look more around the lips to make them look more did in minutely larger than the right—she adds bronze get to one side.

No Underweer. Off the set, Hutton rejects the glamour role completely. So far she has turned down talk-show invitations because she thinks that the hosts are "putdown artists," and she does not have anything interesting to say—at least not yet. "It would be pretentious for me to come on and say, 'O.K., folks, let's stop killing whales."

Her style is offhand, California hip rather than Gotham sophisticate, and four-letter words stud her rap. She avoids high-fashion designer clothes, prefers casual wear such as blue jeans, pants and sweater outfits, often teamed with a crazy that and tennis shoes. She does not own a shred of underwear —just a head-to-toe tan.

Home is a former sculptor's smallish skylighted studio in Greenwich Village, which she shares with her boy

Clockwise from top: at home amidst Moroccan rugs, Indian blankets, and butterflies; posing in yet another of her kinky hats; swimming off the Homptons on Long Island. While on vaccition in Zihuatanejo, Mexico (left), this summer, and having Junch at an outdoor café in Manhatton.



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#### MODERN LIVING

friend of eight years, Bob Williamson, a "freelance stock speculator." Marriage? "Great for taxes, necessary for children, but abominable for romance. Hutton also boycotts the uptown party scene: "I feel foolish in that kind of setup, and I think those people would feel foolish in mine." Lauren and Bob divide household chores because "I've never had a maid and don't want one. If you've got more things than you can take care of yourself, you've got too much." What they do have is old Moroccan rugs, Mexican hammocks, African fur throws and several cases of mounted insects and butterflies, which Lauren collects.

She could certainly afford a grander way of life, but prefers to sock her money away in "safe investments. I found out early in the game there is freedom in money. You can buy time with it." One extravagance Lauren indulges in recklessly is travel. Ignoring the advice of agents and business associates, she takes off as frequently as she can for far points-Malaysia, Africa, Nepal, Central America. The choice is simple. "We just find out where it is tourists are absolutely not supposed to go and strike out for there."

No Garbage. She also has a career itinerary in mind. From the beginning, Hutton has wanted to be an actress. Some of her contemporaries -Cybill Shepherd, Jennifer O'Neill, Ali MacGraw-have gone to Hollywood. Ironically. Hutton began a film career before any of them. Starting with Paper Lion in 1968, she went on to make three other mediocre films. But her career fizzled when she turned down other offers ("Some garbage you just can't eat") and got a reputation for being difficult. She also got depressed about her future. Often she is compared to one of her personal heroines, Suzy Parker, the top model who faded from Hollywood after four film tries.

Discouragement or no, Hutton is determined to transfer that special quality she has before still cameras to the movies. Reason: "Modeling is psychological lemonade compared with acting. When you make an emotion that others see and recognize, then you are flying." She will have a chance to "fly again. Following the Revson contract, she immediately got two movie offers. She has already accepted—and begun shooting—one of them: Paramount's The Gambler, in which she is directed by Karel Reisz. James Caan co-stars. At a time of life when most mod-

els begin to think of marrying a rich man and retiring to a Park Avenue duplex. Hutton is just beginning to hit her stride. "I have started coming together," she says, "I'm older, smarter, more comfortable with what I am now. Consequently I look better." But her famous self-confidence vanishes for just a moment. Perhaps thinking of that once failed film career, she says, "There's always a surprise. I keep looking for that banana peel."



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FOUR

#### FOOD/COVER STORY

# The Burger That Conquered the Country

The destiny of nations depends on the manner in which they nourish themselves

—The Physiology of Taste, Jean Brillat-Savarin (1826)

If so. America's destiny manifestly depends to no small degree on the hamburgers, French fries and milkshakes served beneath the golden arches of Mc-Donald's Last year the chain of driveins and restaurants rang up sales of \$1.03 billion, passing the U.S. Army (1972 food volume: \$909 million) as the nation's biggest dispenser of meals. Now the chain is going on to new triumphs: adding an average of one new outlet every day to its 2,500 in the U.S., and hanging on every one a sign reading OVER 12 BILLION SOLD to commemorate an event that occurred during August. Executives at world headquarters in Oak Brook, Ill., a Chicago suburb, have not bothered to investigate who ate the 12 billionth hamburger, when or in which restaurant, because they know that its consumption constituted only an ephemeral milestone. In four months or less, given the current intensity of the nation's hamburger hunger. those signs will be replaced by new ones proclaiming OVER 13 BILLION

Nonstop Munching. McDonald's statistical accomplishments are staggering. To illustrate: if all the 12 billion McDonald's hamburgers sold to date were to be stacked into one pile, they would form a pyramid 783 times the size of the one erected by Snefru. If a man ate a McDonald's hamburger every five minutes, it would take him 114,-000 years of nonstop munching to consume 12 billion burgers. If all the cattle that have ever laid down their lives for McDonald's were to be resurrected for a reunion, they would stand flank-byjowl over an area larger than Greater London.

Statistics alone cannot adequately measure the impact of McDonald's on U.S. life. The company's relentless advertising campaign (\$50 million budgeted this year) has made the McDonald's jingle, You Deserve a Break Today, almost as familiar as The Star-Spangled Banner. But the chain's managers have wrought their greatest achievement by taking a familiar American institution, the greasy-spoon hamburger joint, and transforming it into a totally different though no less quintessentially American operation: a computerized, standardized, premeasured, superclean production machine efficient enough to give even the chiefs of General Motors food for thought. In the \$8 billion-ayear fast-food industry, McDonald's is only one of dozens of chains that strive for uniformity in menu and service. But none has ever surpassed McDonald's in automating the ancient art of cooking and serving food.

At every McDonald's outlet, wining lights on the grills tell the counterman exactly when to flip over the
the property of the counterman exactly when to flip over the
the beld under infra-red warming lights
for up to ten minutes, no more: after
that, any burgers that have not been ordered must be thrown away. Cybernetic
moisture in every potato stick to make
sure that French fries come out with a
uniform degree of brownness; specially
designed scoops make it almost physsuff more or fewer French fries into a
suff more or fewer French fries into a

ployees in nine countries, from Western Europe to Japan and Australia, Mc-Donald's has grown from a uniquely American to a truly global operation, and it faces some special problems in making employee performance uniform. The company operates directly the rest are un by holders of McDonald's franchises (the firm prefers to call them licenses). The hird help are mostly youths who work at a McDonald's for a few months and then quit; turnover in many outless averages (10%cause of the reurient tedium.

Still, McDonald's manages to make its licensees, restaurant managers and burger slingers seem as standardized as its machines and cuisine. Licensees and managers of company-operated restau-



LUNCHTIME CROWDS JAMMING RESTAURANT IN MIDTOWN MANHATTAN

paper bag than headquarters specifies for a single order.

Customers get almost as little discretion as the help; their burgers come wrapped, with ketchup and mistat dapartic method, with ketchup and mistat dapartic method. The discretified in the state of the discretified in the disc

Machinery and equipment cannot do everything, of course. Human beings are involved too—some 130,000 emrants must graduate from a ten-day course at McDonald's "Hamburger University," a gleaming \$2,000,000 institution in Elk Grove Village, Ill. The course leads to a Bachelor of Hamburgerology degree, with a minor in French fries. In the field, licensees and managers are incessantly hounded by roving inspectors (called "field supervisors") to make sure that the restaurant floor is mopped at proper intervals and the parking lot tidied up hourly. If a manager tries to sell his customers hamburgers that have been off the grill more than ten minutes or coffee more than 30 minutes old, Big Brother in Oak Brook will find out. Headquarters executives calculate exactly how much food each restaurant can be expected to throw away each day, and are ready

## Inside a Big Mac



bottom bun

to chastise a chronically deviant manager who has no good explanation.

Grillmen, "window girls" (order takers) and other hired hands must conform to strict rules. Men must keep their hair cropped to military length, and their shoes (black only) highly polished. Women must wear dark low shoes, hair nets and only very light makeup. Viewing the results, Harvard Business School Professor Theodore Levitt describes McDonald's as "a machine that produces, with the help of totally unskilled machine tenders, a highly polished product. Everything is built integrally into the machine itself, into the technology of the system. The only choice available to the attendant is to operate



RONALD McDONALD IN TV COMMERCIAL A minor in French fries.

it exactly as the designers intended." To some critics, the success of that machine is a devastating comment on American values. Pop Sociologist Vance Packard laments: "This is what our country is all about-blandness and standardization." Novelist Vance Bourjaily extravagantly views McDonald's popularity as a sign that America is "a failing culture." He explains: "This country is full of people who have forgotten what good food is. Eating in most countries is a basic pleasure, but people in the U.S. don't eat for pleasure. To them, eating is just something done in response to advertising

Other critics assail McDonald's for blighting the land architecturally (under pressure from zoning authorities, the chain is rapidly switching from its original garish, candy-striped restaurant design to a more subdued brown brick configuration) and for allegedly subnitive properties of the configuration of the conlinear than the configuration of the contraction of the configuration of the constance of the configuration of the constance of the configuration of the contraction of the contracti vy because it would lack sufficient vitamin C. Mayer also says that the menu provides large amounts of fats and calories (557 for a Big Mac, 317 for a chocolate shake, 215 for a small order of fries) and contains almost no roughage.

"There is nothing at McDonald's that makes it necessary to have teeth," he says—though he adds: "I am nonfanatical about McDonald's. As a weekend treat, it is clean and fast."

Since no one is forced to eat at a McDonald's, the chain must be giving multitudes exactly what they want. For one thing, many people find the cheerily bland atmosphere reassuring. Says Sociologist David Riesman: "Americans have had a lot of experience being cheated and exploited when they eat cheated and exploited when they eat cheated and exploited when they eat please to meet a series of the control of the place to neutralize this anxiety, a place that does not make a customer feel he will not know how to use his fork.



SIPPING MILKSHAKES IN TOKYO

McDonald's patrons put it more signal. To them, a McDonald's is a clean, well-lighted place, where they will be served quickly and courteously. Customer waits rarely exceed five minutes, even at the height of the lunch-hour crush; the company is introducing computerized, diode-display order-taking machines to cut delays even further.

#### BUSINESS

ers are not much better than a breakeven item for McDonald's; the highest profits come on French fries, soft drinks and the extra nickel a customer pays for a cheeseburger. McDonald's raised prices an average of 18% last winter on a number of menu items, but it has held the line since, throughout the worst U.S. food-price inflation in 26 years.

Millions of Americans have become virtually addicted to "junk food" as exemplified by McDonald's menu. "The food is good and the price is right," observes Pete DeKramer, an IBM programmer of Mahwah, N.J. David Green, a night, auditor in San Francisco, is enthusiastic: "McDonald's is my favorite place to eat in the whole world. I've eaten at McDonald's All around the country, I wouldn't move to any town that didn't have one."

Such ardent loyalty has made Mc-Donald's one of the business successes of the century. Since the company sold stock to the public in 1965, system-wide sales have increased sixfold, from \$170.8 million a year to the \$1.03

billion in 1972, and profits have zoomed from 53.8 million to 53.8 million to Sac million. Company-owned outloom of sales and 16% of profits. In the first six months of 1973, sales rose 47% and profits 46% above a year earlier. The growth has kept the stock at stratespheric heights, \$5,000 at a mere seven years ago would be worth more than \$320,000

at last week's close of 641/4

Fast-Food Pharaoh, The man behind this success is named not Ronald McDonald the ketchup-topped clown celebrated in company advertising, but Ray A. Kroc, a crusty, saltily spoken 71-year-old Chicagoan who is rather amused to find himself the pharaoh of fast food. "When I was a little boy, my father took me to a phrenologist," he recalls. "I was told that I would make my best living either in the food business or as a musician. You know. I've done both." After serving alongside Walt Disney in the World War I Red Cross Ambulance Corps. Kroc played piano in Chicago bars

played piano in Chicago bars and restaurants and sold paper cups. His keyboard technique never earned him much of a living, but he sold enough cups to become Midwest sales manager for Lily-Tulip. In 1937 he quit, and for \$10,000 bought seclusive sales rights to the Prince Castle Multimixer, a machine that could mis xis milkshakes at once.

Enter, from left field, the Brothers McDonald—Richard and Maurice. They came to California from New England in 1928 in search of jobs in the movie industry, but became co-owners of a movie theater in Glendora, Calif. In 1940 they opened a hamburger drive-in near Pasadena, and in 1948 converted it to a self-service restaurant with some of the features of a modern McDonald's, "We were the first in the business to use infrared heat lamps to keep the French fries warm," claims Richard McDonald, now retired in Bedford, N.H. (Maurice died in 1971). The McDonalds franchised six more outlets, on which they began putting golden arches in 1952. Two years later, the chain had grown enough to buy eight Multimixers for a single restaurant from Ray Kroc-who was so startled by the size of the order that he flew to San Bernardino to see what kind of business could be producing it

"When I got there," says Kroc, "I saw more people waiting in line than I had ever seen at any drive-in. I said to myself: "Son of a bitch, these guys have got something. How about if I open some of these places?" "Kroc talked the McDonalds into letting him franchise

their outlets nationwide. Over the next five years he organized a chain of 228 McDonald's that even by 1960 were grossing \$56 million a year. Kroc collected only 1.9% of the gross from the franchisees, and he had to turn over more than a quarter of that to the McDonald's in 1961 and asked alled the McDonald's in 1961 and asked alled to name a price for selling out everything, including the name.

They difficult is a second of the control of the co

#### Ratings from the Gourmets



JULIA CHILD MUNCHING A BIG MAC

Granted, McDonald's estisine is immensely popular, but how does it taste to a demanding critic of restaurants. TIME asked several of the nation's best-known food writers to sample the fare that they were rating a fast-food operation rather than an appirant to Guide Michelin accolades. The gournest, few of whom had ever eaten at McDonald's before, were rather more imprecied, though that they have been expected, though that we must found sometime to efficie. Their more imprecied, though they have been expected, though they have been expected to the property of the expected of the expec

Croig Cloiborne, publisher of a private food newsletter and former New York Times food critic: "The hamburgers are quite swallowable. There is a highly compatible onion flavor. The French freis are first-rate; they are made in fresh fat and are crisp. I do think they could put more pickle on the hamburger. Overall, I would on the work of th

James Beard, cookbook author: "McDonald's is a great machine that belebes forth hamburgers. The whole thing is aimed at the six-year-old palate. They don't salt things enough, and the malts taste like melled tice cream. But the place is efficient and clean, and damned smart because it insulates. The food may be more honest than some things you get at higher prices."

Julia Child, author and television chef: "The burs are a little soft. The Big Mac I like least because it's all bread. But the French fries are surprisingly good. It's remarkable that you can get that much food for under a dollar. It's not what you would call a balanced meal; it's nothing but calories. But it would keep you alive."

Goel Greene, New York magatines Instatible Critie: "When I want meat, I want a steak. But when I wan a hamburger. I want a Big Mae. It has all those disreputable things—cheese made of glue, Russian dressing three generations removed from the steppes, and this very thin party of something that is close enough to meat. It's an inthating experience. And I love the meat. See and ice-cold. They're better than if they were real."



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EXECUTIVE PONDERING ON GIANT WATERBED IN "THINK TANK" AT McDONALD'S HEADQUARTERS IN OAK BROOK, ILL. Social critics see a failing culture, but the multitudes seek a clean, well-lighted place.

now lives quietly in Chicago with stock worth some Sch million. Finally, Kroc borrowed the money from a group of college endowment funds at what was then an exorbitant price: 6% annual interest, plus ½% of the gross sales of all McDonald's restaurants. Says Kroc: "The \$2.7 million ended up costing me \$14 million and up costing me \$14 million. But I guess there was no and those golden arches. What are you going to do with a name like Kroce".

The deal, however, left Kroc admiring nothing about the McDonald brothers but their name. His dislike turned to harted when they insisted on keeping their higship restaurant in San Berjudge highly restaurant in San Berduce much needed cash. Eventually, he opened a McDonald's right across the street, and since the then owned the name, forced the brothers to take their own name off their restaurant. They reton man their restaurant. They reton the street was a street of the street long. Says Kroec, with but it did not last long. Says Kroec, with but it did not last long. Says Kroec, with but it did not last long. Says Kroec, with but it did not last

Capturing the Suburbs. Though the McDonald brothers started some of the chain's technical innovations, it was Chairman Kroc who formulated the nationwide operating policies. He set out to capture the fast-growing suburbs, unlike the chiefs of Horn & Hardart. White Castle and other early fast-food chains, who originally concentrated on downtown locations. Explains President Fred L. Turner, 40, a onetime McDonald's burger frier who now oversees the company's day-to-day functioning: "Our move to the suburbs was a conscious effort to go for the family business. That meant going after the kids. We decided to use television, so we created our own character Ronald McDonald.

Today there are 50 "Ronalds" on contract to McDonald's across the country, making appearances at parades, county fairs and store openings. In addition, one Ronald is stationed permanently in Hollywood to appear in the firm's television commercials. A company survey last year indicated that 96% of American schoolchildren can identify Ronald McDonald, ranking him second only to Santa Claus.

Ronald is not the only weapon in McDonald's children's crusade Executives decided early on to place napkins and straws out on the counter, instead of serving them with the food. "It became the kid's job to get the straws and the napkins," says Turner. "It cost a lot repeat business we get because kids insist business we get because kids insist here have found the control of the property of the p

Ray Kroc codified McDonald's policies into a kind of fast-foot religion summed up in the initials ope (for Qualities), as est of letters that cells the control of the control of Kroc's penonility, and business genius, is clearly on those letters, espenius, be clearly on those letters, espenius, be clearly on those letters, espenius, in clearly on those letters, espenius, in clearly on the control of the cont

Cleanliness is also a personal fetish of Kroc's that has become an awe-in-spiring legend throughout the chain. Last month, on one of his incessant in-spection tours around the empire, he walked into a McDonald's in Canada—and exploded like a raw potato in hot grease. "There was gum on the cement

patio, cigarette buts between the wheel stops for the cars," he says. "There was rust on the wrought-iron railing, and the redwood fence needed to be restained. I went in there and said to the manager: "You get somebody to mop this goddamned floor right now. And if you don't, I'll do it myself:"

A Hamburger Degree. Such visit from Kroe are only one of the trials that a McDonald's licensee must endure. His courses at Hamburger U, though short, are no snap; they coverey-thing from how to scrape a grill to how to post a double-entry ledger. "This is a hard-working place," says "Dean" Donald Breitkrentz, 36, a onetime candymaker, "Some of these people put in 14 hours a day. They get up at 6:30 in the morning to study."

On a recent morning, one of the school's eight instructors bectured on how to service an Everpure T-9 water lifter, which cleans the water used in full results of the school of the sch

#### BUSINESS

Mafia; we skim it right off the top," jokes a financial officer. In the beginning Kroc sold territorial franchises, but now a licensee buys only the right to operate at a specific address for 20 years; when the license expires, he must put up another \$150,000 or so for a new one.

The licensee gets some latitude in selecting which local promotions and public service projects to bankroll, but no choice whatever as to whether to be a do-gooder or not. Community service is a Ray Kroc obsession, and every McDonald's licensee is expected to

spend a generous portion of profits on it. Headquarters gives each licensee a thick book of suggested promotions and constantly prods him to come up with new ones on his own. In New York's Harlem. Lee Dunham, one of Mc-Donald's 60 black licensees. serves free hamburgers to unwed mothers every Saturday; in Chicago this summer licensees had carnivals on their parking lots to raise money for muscular dystrophy research. Throughout the country, McDonald's managers often rush free food to disaster sites, as local outlets near Roseville, Calif., did after last April's ammunition train explosion

Careers Abandoned. Oddly, in a chain with McDonald's passion for standardization. licensees get neither food nor supplies from Oak Brook. Restaurants buy their own, mostly through regional cooperatives, though naturally the purchases must meet rigid headquarters specifications. The basic hamburger patty must be a machinecut, 1.6-oz. chunk of "pure" beef -that is, no lungs, hearts, cereal, soybeans or other filler-with no more than 19% fat content, v. 30% for some competing hamburgers. The 3½-in.-wide bun must have a higher-than-normal sugar content for faster browning. McDonald's outlets have enough massed buying power-they purchase 1% of all the beef wholesaled in the nation-to line up steady supplies at stable prices in all normal times, and Oak Brook

will help out in a pinch. Headquarters executives are currently buying up live steers with "contributions" levied on licensees, who get the meat back in the form of patties. McDonald's chiefs figure that they have corralled enough steers to get the company through the current beef shortage and avoid a price boost when the ceiling comes off retail beef prices this week.

In return for their money and submission to headquarters, the licensees get to use the McDonald's real estate, name and formula. For most, that is close to a license to print money. The average outlet grossed \$508,000 last year, earning its operator upwards of \$70,000

before taxes. For that reason, McDonald's receives thousands of license applications a year and accepts only about 10% of them. The company gives preference to existing licensees, but values susiness or professional experience of any kind. Every year large numbers of executives, doctors and lawyers abandon their careers to take up the spatdemands that anyone putting up more than half the price of a McDonald's incense work full time under the arches.

Guy Rodrick, 48, practiced law in Chicago for two decades before he in-



TURNER & KROC AS CLEANUP SQUAD Big Brother will catch a deviant.

vested in a McDonald's outlet in 1967.
"Ib beame so fascinated with it that I began spending more time at McDonald's than with my law practice," he says. "Finally, my law partner suggested that I spend full time at one place or the other. I chose McDonald's and I have never regretted it." Four years ago, Rodrick moved to Florida and opened four outlets. Today he works seven days a week behind the counter and earns "a million dollars in happiness."

Lee Dunham, the Harlem licensee, was a New York City cop. He faced some problems that Hamburger U. did not prepare him for. Teen-age gangs tried to claim the store as their turf. "They would come in with their chains and start rapping them on the counter. says Dunham. One day Dunham pulled out the .38 revolver that he is licensed to carry and told the gang leaders: "The moment you come in here, you belong to me." Then he bought the leaders hamburgers, talked about black image with them, and gave some of them jobs. Today, Dunham's store grosses \$110,-000 a month, more than twice the national average, and his all-black staff of 120 keeps the place immaculate. "I tell them, 'Let's do better than the Man downtown," he says. "Any time you say 'beat Whitey,' they work harder.

Young employees at McDonald's are not munificently rewarded. Most make little more than the minimum wage of \$1.60 an hour. The Nixon Administration last spring proposed raising the hourly minimum to \$2.20 in 1975 but partially exempting students who work part time, a category that covers most of the McDonald's work force. Washington skeptics, who note that Kroc openly gave \$250,000 to the Nixon campaign last year, dubbed the measure "the McDonald's bill." Congress accepted the special student provision but Nixon last week vetoed the minimum wage bill as inflationary

Happy Home. Many of the youths exhibit surprising dedication. Pilferage runs only about \$30 per month per outlet, a percentage of sales far below the average for all retailing. Wade Litchhonetg. 18, a night manager in Fort Lauderdale, describes his job as "a real challenge. I love it—meeting people, learning all about the business." Says Lynnette Myers, 18, of Jackson, Miss: "If's a happy place to work. It's my home away from home."

One reason for the enthusiasm may be that McDonald's employees who work hard can go high quickly in the expanding business. President Turner started frying hamburgers at Kroc's first franchise near Chicago in 1956. He rose so rapidly as an "operations man," keeping an eye on new stores, that he never had time to claim the license that Kroc promised him. McDonald's also pays close attention to suggestions from behind the counter. Several of the chain's new products have originated in the minds of low-ranking employees. Among them: Egg McMuffin, a 63¢ breakfast item made from fried egg, melted cheddar cheese and a slice of Canadian bacon, all on an English muffin.

McDonald's has had some stumbles. It has expanded overseas with all the zeal of missionaries bringing hamburgers to the heathen. "We are educating people to a whole new way of life—eating with your fingers instead of forks," says Rolf Kreiner, who directs McDonald's advertising in West Germany, Still,

\*Although the hamburger originated in medieval Europe, as raw beef shredded by a dull knife. Merchants from the Baltic carried the dish to Hamburg, where it is still popular both raw and cooked. German immigrants brought it, fried and bunned, to South St. Louis, and introduced it to the rest



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#### RUSINESS

McDonald's European branches lost \$1,000,000 last year, partly because too many were located in suburbs, which are not flourishing overseas quite as much as in the U.S. The company is now shifting abroad to downtown locations, where it is drawing big crowds of both foreign nationals and tourists eager for a taste of home. One American girl, stopping at the Paris McDonald's on the Champs-Elysées, explains: Over here you're supposed to try new things. So I tried the Big Mac

Some problems loom at home too. Continued growth of the fast-food industry seems almost assured for several reasons: Americans are spending more time in their cars, and 44% of the nation's women hold paid jobs, giving them more money to eat out and less time to cook at home. But the industry has long been overcrowded; Minnie Pearl's Chicken Systems, Joe Namath's Broadway Joe's and a number of other chains all fell on hard times as competitors proliferated. McDonald's will have to scramble harder and harder to stay ahead of the pack. At present, a McDonald's outlet requires a population base of 30,000 to support it in the style to which Ray Kroc is accustomed. The company has already exploited many of the best locations.

Show Tune. Kroc nevertheless foresees ever greater expansion. One bright hope is, paradoxically, a return to the city. Swallowing such old fears as crime and high real estate costs, Mc-Donald's has begun opening dozens of downtown outlets-and all pull in high revenues. Another possibility is what Kroc calls "internal growth," that is, wringing more sales out of each outlet.

The chairman intends to stick around to oversee that growth too. His undiminished vigor is evident to anyone visiting Oak Brook headquarters where the offices are open cubicles and Kroc's shouting rings through them all (executives who need some peace and quiet retire to an elaborate "think tank" equipped with a 700-gal. waterbed). Kroc has a personal fortune estimated at \$500 million, and he marked his 70th birthday by giving away \$9,000,000 worth of McDonald's stock to employees and another \$7,500,000 to Chicagoarea charities. Still, he wants more. "I expect money like you walk into a room and turn on a light switch or a faucet. he says, "It's not enough.

Moreover, the quiet pleasures of retirement could hardly match the kick that Kroc, the unsuccessful piano player, gets from finally wowing an audience. "When you are in this business you are in show business," he says. "Every day is a new show. It's like a Broadway musical—if people come out humming the tune, then the show was a success." Today, Ray Kroc's show will play to standing-room-only crowds at more than 2,500 houses round the world. More than a few patrons will walk out, stomachs full, humming his tune: "You deserve a break today . .

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#### The Death Killers

On June 29, 1972, when the five non-Nixon nominees on the Burger Court ruled that the death penalty in the U.S. was cruel and unusual punishment, virtually every legal handicapper was stunned. But during the previous nine years, a small and exceptionally talented group of lawyers had worked quietly toward just such a result with painstaking premeditation. Cruel and Unusual, written by one of the lawyers, Michael Meltsner, and published this

in various counties of eleven states. Though the resulting study by University of Pennsylvania Sociologist

Marvin Wolfgang impressively documented discrimination, no court would buy the argument that general statistics proved unconstitutional bias in a particular case. The L.D.F. concluded, savs Meltsner, that it could never win "unless the fact that a high proportion of blacks were subject to execution emerged as but one distasteful aspect of a far greater evil." Thus, in 1967 the L.D.F. decided to fight the execution of every man and woman on death row in

tions, and then in 1967 won a stay for everyone on California's death row.

Virtually every argument known to Western law was mustered against capital punishment. As a result of one such argument-made in a rare case that did not involve the L.D.F .- the death sentence was declared unconstitutional when only a jury could impose it; the Supreme Court concluded that this practice meant defendants might waive their right to a jury to avoid the risk of death. The court also threw out death sentences when potential jurors in the case had been excluded if they had even slight reservations about cap-

ital punishment.

By mid-1971, there had not been an execution in the U.S. for four years. But the Supreme Court had just rejected two key L.D.F. arguments.
One attacked the lack of legal standards guiding a jury's decision to require death: the other objected to the general jury practice of deciding on both guilt and the capital penalty without an intervening chance for a presentencing hearing. The only major contention the L.D.F. had left was that the death penalty constituted cruel and unusual punishment. But that legal argument succeeded one year later. The unexpected success, in Meltsner's view, had as much to do with all that had gone before as it did with the specifics in the legal briefs.

"The politics of abolition." he says, "boiled down to this: For each year the United States went without executions, the more hollow would ring claims that the American people could not do without them; the longer death-row inmates waited, the greater their numbers, the more difficult it would be for the courts to per-

mit the first execution." The battle is not over, of course. At least 19 states have passed new statutes that permit capital punishment for specific crimes, and a group of district attorneys is now trying to organize a countercampaign not unlike that of the L.D.F. The idea is that the court's ruling had hinged on objections to the capriciousness with which capital punishment was administered and therefore if the conditions calling for death are rigidly defined under new laws, they may pass constitutional scrutiny. But it is likely that two or more years will go by before the Supreme Court hears the new arguments. By then the U.S. will be nearing a decade without an execution, and Meltsner's "politics of abolition" may be stronger than ever.





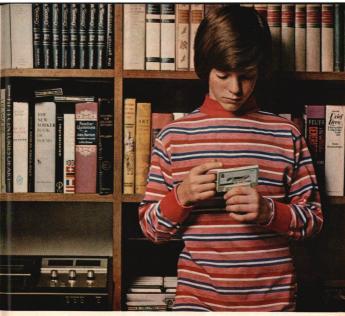
how they did it. The details of the battle make for a sometimes rousing intellectual adventure story

The idea for the legal full-court press developed slowly in the offices of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund, the organization of lawyers (now independent of the N.A.A.C.P.) that had won the long legal battle against Southern school segregation. Primarily concerned with representing black clients and causes, L.D.F. attorneys were well aware that the death penalty was imposed in the South with disproportionate frequency against black men convicted of raping white women, but it was difficult to prove in court. So in the summer of 1965 a group of students was sent South to gather all possible data from the past 20 years on rape sentencing

the U.S., a total then exceeding 400. Friendly attorneys in states with the death penalty were enlisted to alert the L.D.F. to imminent execution dates. A so-called Last Aid Kit was drawn up.

complete with an array of papers, forms and arguments, making it possible for almost any attorney to obtain a stay with a minimum of effort.

The chief legal tactician was Anthony Amsterdam, a law professor then at the University of Pennsylvania, now at Stanford, and his tactics soon began to pay off dramatically. Amsterdam and other lawyers won a stay from the Supreme Court in one case while the racial bias issue was being considered. scored a legal first with a previously unheard-of class action habeas corpus petition that blocked all Florida execu-



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#### Non-Olympian

VISIONS OF EIGHT

Directed by MILOŠ FORMAN, KON ICHIKAWA, CLAUDE LELOUCH, JURI OZEROV, ARTHUR PENN, MICHAEL PFLEGHAR, JOHN SCHLESINGER, MAI ZETTERLING

A more accurate title might have been "Cheap Shots of Eight." These impressions of the 1972 Olympic Games have almost nothing of value to say either about the Munich spectacle or about athletics in general. What the film does do is bring together in one handy package most of the reigning clichés of contemporary film making. As such, it should be must view-



ZETTERLING & WEIGHTLIFTER IN MUNICH A handy package of clichés.

ing at every film school in the world; elsewhere it may be enjoyably and profitably avoided.

The most abused device is ironic

crosscutting. Mai Zetterling has her somber Swedish fun jumping from overmuscled weight lifters to shots of mass-food preparation in the Olympic Village. But since these athletes are not overweight, considering their specialty, her juxtaposition of images is superficial and the idea behind it banal.

Equally pointees is Milos Formany, cutting between decathion competitors and various musical activities that be found in and around the Games, from Bavarian bell ringing to a performance commenting more than the bot pursuit of exhaustion, and so, perhaps, is bell ringing, if that is where one's heart lies. As for John Schlesinger's back-and-forthing between a losing British marathon competitor and the mutder of the elevance of the commenting of the commenting that is a tasteless last minute paster in the state of the comment of the commenting that the comment of the commenting that the comment of th

The slow-motion freaks do not fare any better. Japan's Kon Ichikawa, who all by himself made a better Olympics

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#### CINEMA

film about the 1964 Tokyo Games, uses slow motion to record the 100meter dash. Although it is fascinating to see some of the world's fastest humans running in place for a few minutes, it is finally frustrating not to see the essence of their thing, which is a blur. Arthur Penn has some extremely pretty pictures of pole vaulters slowly soaring, but when he cuts a lot of vaults together to form a sort of aerial ballet, we are inevitably reminded that Leni Riefenstahl did the same thing, using divers, 36 years ago. It is disappointing to see a man of Penn's caliber ripping off an old master

For the rest, Claude Lelouch does a For the rest, Claude Lelouch does a Russia focuses on athletes preparing for competition, and Michael Pfleghar of Germany contributes a piece on women athletes. None is distinguished by either a strong point of view or depth of insight. \*\*Richard Schickel

#### Gaslight Shadows

NIGHT WATCH
Directed by BRIAN G. HUTTON
Screenplay by TONY WILLIAMSON

Elizabeth Taylor, looking unwieldy, appears here as a rich Englishwoman whose sleep is troubled by nightmares about her former husband. She is haunted by memories of his death in a car wreck, in the company of a young lady



TAYLOR SEEING THINGS IN "NIGHT WATCH"
From peskiness to schizophrenia.

of dubious virtue. During one steeples inght, she looks out of her window at the spooky house across the yard and sees—or thinks she sees, or at least says she sees—a dead man sitting in an armchair with his throat cut. Later she sees light behind the house's rick-ety shutters and a woman's corpse in the same chair. The police are called,

but they find nothing.

Taylor continues to lurch along the emotional curve between peskiness and seeming paranoid schizophrenia. She

tries the patience of her unctuous second husband (Laurence Harvey) and frays the nerves of her best friend (Billie Whitelaw). Finally plans are made to ship her off to a Swiss Sanitarium. No matter what she says at this point, it is doubtful that anyone would be-

The shadow that really lies across Taylor, of course, is that of Gaslight, that old movie chiller in which a womman prone to nervous disorders believes herself to be going mad, both despite and because of the fawning ministrations of her husband and a friend. Director Hutton incorporates most of the clichés of the Gaslight tradition, including squeaking stairs, hysterical phone calls and many looks of lingering menace. Screenwriter Williamson's script, adapted from the Broadway play by Lucille Fletcher (who wrote another classic of the genre, Sorry, Wrong Number, a few decades back), retains all the trappings of a three-act thriller except the proscenium.

There is one thoroughly nasty and frightening sequence in the old house, with glinting carving knives, rivulets of blood and grinning, pasty ghosts from the past. This is saved, quite properly, for the last. But in order to get hooked by it, and through it to learn the movie's fairly intriguing glimmlek, it is necessary that the property of the last property of th



#### Our Man in Gehenna

THE HONORARY CONSUL by GRAHAM GREENE

315 pages, Simon & Schuster, \$7.95

The Hound of Heaven is still hellbent in pursuit of Graham Greene. That is not exactly news. And it is only a mixed blessing for Greene's characters, who in his new novel go through more than the usual torments that may or may not be signs of God's devastating love. But what an indulgence for the reader. Temporarily, at least, everybody can sidestep this fall's avalanche of novels-many of them apparently the work of rude boys rubbing sticks together to make fire-and enjoy a Promethean sto-

ryteller at work

Greene's goings-on in The Honorary Consul at first seem highly local and temporary. The scene is South America in the '70s, and the situation is even closer to the daily headlines than was the case with The Comedians or The Quiet American. Some hapless Paraguayan guerrillas, stirred by General Stroessner's repressions, cross the border into northern Argentina. They aim to kidnap a visiting American ambassador and hold him against the release of ten political prisoners. But, as one character remarks, "nothing happens as we intend." Acting as his customary farce majeure. Greene has the revolutionaries mistakenly snatch and fruitlessly hold for political ransom poor Charley Fortnum, a gentle, sixtyish, befuddled and more than slightly sodden Englishman who serves as honorary British consul in an upcountry town that boasts only three British passports.

The holder of one of them is Dr. Eduardo Plarr, Plarr's British father has been held for years in a Paraguayan prison, and Plarr has not only become involved with the kidnapers but is the lover of Charley Fortnum's young wife. When Fortnum winds up a hostage, Plarr finds himself in one of those absurd and passionate plights that Greene is so skillful at convincing us are truthful metaphors for man's lot in life. "Let this comedy end as comedy." Plarr says in mock prayer. "None of us are suited for tragedy." But naturally, this wish is not granted

Risks of Love. Greene readers, accustomed to the fact that nothing succeeds like failure, will soon realize that Charley Fortnum is one of the author's cool diagnostician and a rational man compulsively armed against the risks of love, just as clearly is Greene's familiar man in Gehenna. Convenient labels. though, do not destroy the extraordinary suspense and subtlety of the book. At the very end The Honorary Consul thins and flattens down to a claptrap scene-barely suitable for framing on

celluloid-in which Fortnum, Plarr and the kidnapers, led (yes) by a renegade priest named Léon, are beleaguered by police with searchlights and a helicopter. But much of the novel is as finely controlled and exquisitely melancholy as a Mozart symphony.

A splendid set of peripheral bit players first reach the reader, filtered through the ironic mind of Dr. Plarr. His own bereaved mother, living on sweet cakes and self-pity in Buenos Aires. Romantic Novelist Jorge Julio Saavedra, author of The Taciturn Heart, whose machismo-marinated works are timeless and thus lifeless as well. A British ambassador who begins to sense the sheer outrage of U.S. im-

GRAHAM GREENE IN HAVANA Signs of God's devastating love?

perialism when he finds that the embassy cook automatically fries his eggs Yankee style. Fortnum's wife Clara, who is (yes) a graduate of Madame Sanchez's immaculate brothel and the object of Fortnum's genuine and touching concern and chivalry. "When you get to my age," Fortnum explains, "it's not a bad thing to feel you've made at least one person a little happier.

That is just the kind of simpleminded, sentimental statement that acutely embarrasses Plarr. He despises sentimentality, machismo, everything he takes to be sugar-coated human delusion, and all protestations of love or emotion, which are curable, as he puts it, "by means as simple as an orgasm or an éclair." Plarr works devotedly trying to cure the poor in the barrio, and his judicious view of the corruption of the world is presented with such apparent justice and restraint that the reader only gradually ceases to doubt his judgment-a doubt that Plarr at last experiences himself. His pure disgust at the physical side of life matches (and is perhaps intended to represent) the ancient Gnostic heresy that held Christ never to have been made flesh, and regarded the fleshly world as simply a dirty trick played by the devil on man and God.

Elsewhere Greene has pointed out what Charley Fortnum eventually demonstrates with his life, that the appropriate response to corruption is not cynicism but innocence. Not since The End of the Affair ("Dear God, you know I want your pain, but I don't want it now"), however, has Greene so baldly

confronted the problem of God and evil, or the purpose. if any, of the horrors that God seems to visit alike upon those condemned to believe and those condemned to thirst after faith. "Free will was the excuse for everything." Léon, the priest turned revolutionary, as he recalls his early training. "It was God's alibi. Evil was made by man or Satan. It was simple that way. But I couldn't believe in Satan. It was easier to believe that God was evil." Then, Léon offers an informal post-Freudian, post-Buchenwald process theology that assumes man can judge God's acts and know them evil, but asserts that God is both pitiable and believable precisely because he. like man, is not timeless, but a changeable part of a long and painful evolution

Says Plarr: "It is much easier not to believe in God at all "

Says Léon: "Are you At the moment when both

men die, The Honorary Consul provides only an equivocal reply. But Greene has been putting the question in sophisticated fiction for more than 40 years. The fact may justify a rather mean observation that in Greene's novels, as well as in his just reking, \$10), readers do not explore experience; they are simply reintroduced to Graham Greene. No one, on that account, should be guilty of the sin of ingratitude. In the King James Version of the Bible, the Sermon on the Mount begins: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Poor in spirit? What do the words mean? One of many interpretations reads as follows: "How blessed are they who know their need of God." In a secular century no writer has dramatized that message so variously or so powerfully as Greene. Timothy Foote

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ROOKS

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WORLD WITHOUT END, AMEN by JIMMY BRESLIN 329 pages. Viking. \$6.95.

In his first novel, Columnist Jimmy Breslin copped a plea. Instead of drawing on his vast knowledge of New York's underbelly, he turned out a spoof on the Mafia called The Gang That Couldn's Shoot Straight. In his second effort, a richer and wiser Breslin pleads a cop, comes up with a truly arresting character: Dermot Davey, 29, an Irish Catholic New York patroliman who does not "like one hour of one day of one week of his life."

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JIMMY BRESLIN Instructive tour v. endless vigil.

arouses sadistic impulses, and send him for to sist the ravaged ghettos of Northern Ireland, where Davey's own people curse and stone the bobby on the beat. Put him through some particularly nasty scenes of Uster violence, cast him into the arms of a pretty young revolutionary who talks suspiciously like the 
Communist Antichrist every force in the 
Donamife? Not quite. Instead of

Dynamite? Not quite. Instead of fizing with life, Brestlin's story usually slockes like stale stout. He seems to miss usually slockes like stale stout. He seems to miss unan or magazine piece. Convincing evocations of blue-collar Saturday injuls in Queens or of Bogside palaver in Londonderry stretch out until in-sights petting the contracture. There are, sughts petting vinto caricature. There are, them: the fanatic neatness of an Irish them: the fanatic neatness of an Irish Republican Army bullyboy and Davey's sudden realization that cleanliness and godliness dort always walk togeth-

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#### ROOKS

er. In World Without End, Amen, Breslin weighs in as a serious novelist, then takes himself too seriously. The narrative's bog-slogging pace is a shame, because Breslin clearly cares, and can teach much about people who seldom turn up in current fiction: frustrated cops, tiresome racists, lower-middleclass wives with horizons defined by mortgage payments and broken washing machines. Breslin knows this turf, but he seems to have taken his title too literally. Under his ministrations, an instructive tour is slowly transformed into an endless vigil. Paul Gray

#### "Law-and-Order" THE TRUTH ABOUT KENT STATE

by PETER DAVIES 242 pages. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. \$10. Paperback \$3.50.

Many acts of the Nixon Administration emerge in a more sinister light these days. That is especially true of the Justice Department's original refusal, under Attorney General John Mitchell, to seek any indictments of Ohio National Guardsmen for killing four Kent State students in 1970.

There is a curious parallel between the Justice Department's handling of the Kent State investigation and its initial Watergate studies. In both cases high Justice Department officials lavishly praised the thoroughness of the FBI's investigations-and then, apparently for political reasons, ignored the logical conclusions to be drawn from the evidence. At Kent State the evidence suggested that the shootings were "unwarranted" and that Guardsmen had "fabricated" self-protective excuses. But officials initially refused to present evidence to a federal grand jury, contending that chances of a successful prosecution were too slim. Yet a similar fear of losing in court did not prevent Mitchell's Justice Department from moving unsuccessfully against such ideological foes as Daniel Ellsberg

and the would-be Kissinger kidnapers. Peter Davies' book is primarily a concise and easily followed compilation of the essential facts upon which Guardsmen might possibly be prosecuted. It is also an account of the agonizing struggle by parents of the Kent State victims, various church groups and Davies himself to convince an unresponsive Nixon Administration that a federal grand jury should examine the matter thoroughly. With the jury's power to issue subpoenas and grant immunity. Davies argues, the still obscure truth of precisely why the Guardsmen fired their guns could be secured. Davies, 42, is a New York City insurance broker who has spent most of his spare time for the past three years pursuing the case out of an ordinary citizen's response to what he considers a challenge to the American conscience.

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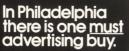
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book convincingly dispels initial claims by Guardsmen that their lives were endangered by an onrushing mob of students, that they were encircled and had run out of tear gas, and that they had come under fire from an unknown sniper. Davies, along with the President's Scranton commission, the FBI and every journalist who has written a Kent State book, presents contrary evidence on all these points. At the time that the Guardsmen suddenly wheeled and fired from a vantage point atop a hill, they had already dispersed the crowd and had a clear exit route back to their assembly point. Even at the time of firing, a number of Guardsmen were so unconcerned that they turned their backs on the students. The closest slain student was nearly the length of a football field away from the riflemen who killed him.

Davies suggests that a federal grand



VICTIM & MOURNERS, 1970 No longer a case for whitewash.

jury should concentrate on two key opints: I) the brief grouping of Guardsmen at the bottom of the hill before they marched to its top, turned almost in unison and began shooting, and 2) a claim by several witnesses, including Guardsmen that Terrence Norman, an acknowledged former FBI informer posing as a photographer, had fired a pistol at some students in a personal altercation, possibly triggering the Guardsmen's tusilade.

Partly as a result of the continued pressures of Davies and others, the federal investigation of the Kent State trageties has just been reopened. That valuable development does not render Davies' book obsolete. Its readers will be justifiably alert to any continued whitewash explaining or justifying the shooting of students. Readers, too, will be doubly aware of the tragic irony implicit in the declaration of the Ohio National Guard commander. Brigadier

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#### BOOKS

General Robert Canterbury, on the morning of the shooting. Said the general: "These students are going to have to find out what law and order is all about ■ Ed Magnuson

#### Eucatastrophe

"I will take the ring, though I do not know the way." -Frodo Baggins

That sentence, spoken reluctantly by a curious, home-loving small creature with furry feet and a preposterous name, is slightly enigmatic. But some 10 million passionate readers round the world will instantly recognize it as the real beginning of one of the great fairy tale quests in modern literature. Frodo is a Hobbit, three feet or so tall. The ring is magic and dangerous. It renders the good and weak who wear it invisible, but it provides both the power and

the itch to dominate the world to any bad and overweening personage who may possess it. Sauron, the Dark Lord of Mordor, for instance, who has already sent his dread black Ringwraiths coursing through Middle-earth to seize it. The only hope for peace lies with poor Frodo. He must journey to the very heart of darkness, to Mount Doom in Mordor, and drop the ring into the volcanic Crack of Doom, there to be destroyed forever.

Middle-earth is very nearly as large as the United States east of the Mississippi. Frodo and some true-hearted companions endure Ringwraiths and Barrow-wights, hordes of Orcs, who are Sauron's shock troops, and much cloak-and-daggering When Frodo triumphs, finally, and destroys the ring, it is only with the perverse collaboration

of Gollum, a pitiably evil creature with froglike feet who sounds a bit like Oliver Twist's Fagin and is one of the memorable minor characters in English literature.

The white magician who made all this possible was an Oxford professor of Old and Middle English, John Ronald Reuel Tolkien, who died last week at the age of 81. Knowing that an imaginary world must be realistically equipped down to the last whisker of the last monster, Tolkien put close to 20 years into the creation of Middleearth, the three-volume Lord of the Rings and its predecessor, The Hobbit (1938). He also equipped readers with 157 pages of history, appendixes, indexes, tables of consanguinity, and philologically impeccable notes on all the languages, including Elvish and Sindarin, spoken on Middle-earth. In the years between 1954, when the book came out, and the present, Tolkien saw his readership spread from a handful of literate Anglophiles who savored The

Lord of the Rings much as they do Grahame's The Wind in the Willows or T.H. White's The Sword in the Stone, to hundreds of thousands of U.S. college kids who made Frodo a national figure and turned the lore of Middle-earth into a way of life. In 1966, the first paperback edition of the three volumes of the Ring sold close to 500,000 copies in the U.S. Scholars and critics had at first admired his books, while tracing down literary influences that ranged from Buchan (the chases, the praise of friendship) to Beowulf. Then, with such popularity, the story was denounced as escapist fantasy, its success owlishly attributed to "irrational adulation" and "nonliterary cultural and social phenomena." Attempts to straitjacket Tolkien's story as contemporary allegory were updated too. In the '50s, critics averred, Sauron was really Joseph Stalin and fumbling. heroic Frodo was the West.

A genial man with a large pipe who



liked to gather with friends and translate Icelandic sagas, Tolkien bore all this stoically. He worked away at other books (Silmarillion and Akallabêth, tales about the creation and early history of Middle-earth, to be published posthumously). But he did point out that literal-minded folk who object to fairy stories as escapist mistake the wartime escape of the deserter (bad) for the wartime escape of the prisoner (necessary and good). Fairy tales represent the latter, Tolkien continued, and correspond to the primordial human desire-in a world of poverty, injustice and death -for the "consolation of the happy ending." Tolkien even coined a word-Eucatastrophe—for this happy quality. Eucatastrophe gives the reader "a catch of breath, a beat and lifting of the heart, a piercing glimpse of joy and heart's

The Lord of the Rings is often pokey and perfervid. But it provides a kind of joy, and will do so as long as men read and Hobbits live in holes.

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